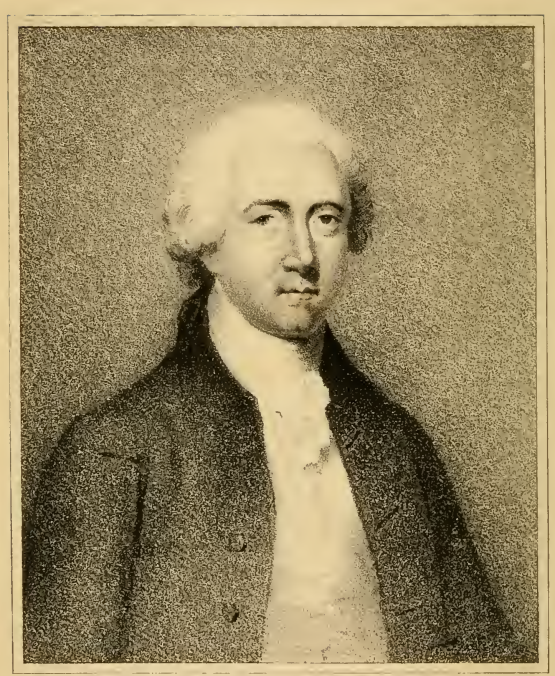

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EARL TEMPLE.

I wo^d avoid having this hand
too commonly seen at a proper
time You shall know me
Junius.

17

LETTERS ON JUNIUS,

ADDRESSED

TO JOHN PICKERING, ESQ.

SHOWING THAT THE

AUTHOR OF THAT CELEBRATED WORK

WAS

EARL TEMPLE.

BY ISAAC NEWHALL.

AT A PROPER TIME YOU SHALL KNOW ME. —— JUNIUS.

BOSTON.

HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE, AND WILKINS.

1831.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present work was first announced by the following Notice, published in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, of September 25, 1830 —

'JUNIUS. — A southern paper has lately republished an article which originally appeared in the Boston Palladium of the 6th of August last, and contained the following remark — "The New York papers now say, that the *late Earl Temple*, brother of the Right Hon. George Grenville, the *putative* father of our notorious Stamp Act, was the writer of Junius; but *it is difficult to believe it*.' The author of the article then goes on to enforce his doubts by a concise view of the character and talents of Earl Temple; conceding, that he was "respectable" as a writer but adding — "we can hardly suppose him to have been the author of the best compositions in our language. To write better than Bolingbroke, Swift, or Johnson, is an elevation which none of the Grenvilles, clever as they were, ever rose to."

'The writer of this Boston article, whose style indicates him to be of the old classical English school, has evidently studied the characters of the statesmen who influenced or directed the measures of the British government at the period in question. But, notwithstanding the strong opinion here expressed by him, I can venture to assure him, that he will hereafter find quite as strong reasons for changing it.

'The suspicion that Lord Temple was the author of Junius, has, it is true, been but recently thrown out in England: and that suspicion has been founded upon statements lately made there, of the existence of certain papers alleged to have been found at Stowe (the family residence of Lord Temple), which,

it is said, establish the fact, that Junius's Letters were written by some one of the *Grenvilles*. Mr E. H. Barker, the latest English writer upon the Junius controversy, in his work respecting the claims of Sir Philip Francis (which I think are now completely demolished), appears to have but little faith in the supposed discoveries made at Stowe. However that fact may be, I can inform the correspondent of the Palladium, that *many years ago*, an American gentleman, residing in a neighboring town, had, after much investigation and reflection, come to the conclusion, that *Lord Temple was, beyond any doubt, the author of Junius*. This result was obtained, not by the aid of any extrinsic evidence of the kind supposed to exist in England (which was of course not accessible in this country), but merely by a continued and careful study of Junius, and of contemporary publications relating to the political history of that day. The grounds of this opinion were noted down, from time to time, by the individual alluded to; and by patient and regular deductions from the internal and historical evidence in the case, the above result will now be established in such a manner, as, in my humble judgment, leaves no more room for doubt. I am enabled to add, that the materials collected by the discoverer himself, in support of this opinion, will shortly be published.

'A Reader of Junius.'

The individual alluded to in this Notice was Mr Newhall, of Salem, in Massachusetts; and the present Letters contain the result of his investigations. In consequence of his absence from the place of publication, the work was put into the hands of a friend, who has performed whatever editorial duty has been required in the case.

Boston, June 7, 1831.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

THE materials of the following Letters were, in part collected many years ago without any view to publication; and they would probably have remained unpublished, had not the authorship of Junius's Letters been again brought before the literary world by the late reported discovery of certain papers in the archives of the Grenville family at Stowe, in England, which, it is said in the journals of the day, 'establish beyond the possibility of doubt, the real author.' This 'real author,' according to the latest accounts from England, is by some *conjectured* to be Earl TEMPLE, the elder brother of the celebrated George Grenville, and brother-in-law of Lord Chatham.

The object of the present Letters is to prove, that Lord Temple was in fact the author; and that this discovery was made in the United States, by the writer, many years ago — long before any hints or indications were given of there being evidence like that which

is said to have been found at Stowe, — much less that the evidence was such, as, it was conjectured, would fix that authorship on Lord Temple.

After the numerous unsuccessful attempts to solve this curious problem in English literature, it may appear presumptuous, particularly in an American — under all the disadvantages of his distance from the scene of Junius's warfare, and the want of a personal acquaintance with the minute occurrences of that period — to fancy, that he has discovered the author. Yet it may be said with truth, that such a distant position for observation is not without its advantages; for if, on the one hand, an observer thus circumstanced would be obliged to throw away more labor in his pursuit, than one who was nearer to the scene, yet, on the other hand, the former would be less likely to have his attention distracted and led astray from the main object by circumstances in reality of inferior importance, which would make an undue impression upon one who should happen to be, if we may so speak, present at the place of action; as, according to the common observation, the looker-on has a more commanding view of the game than those who are engaged in it. So far, however, as respects the discussion of this question by Americans, it will suffice to remark, that we have as great an interest in every question of English literature as our brethren of the mother country. Their literature still is — and long may it continue to be — ours.

But some persons may, perhaps, be ready to ask according to the prevailing fashion of the age — of what *utility* will it be to discuss this question? Instead of giving an answer to this inquiry in our own language, we beg leave to reply in the just and forcible remarks

of an accomplished writer in a leading British journal of the present day: *

'A succession of problems, or puzzles, in the literary and political history of modern times, has occasionally occupied some ingenious writers, and amused many idle readers. Those who think nothing *useful*, which does not yield some palpable and direct advantage, have indeed scornfully rejected such inquiries as frivolous and useless. But their disdain has not repressed such discussions — and it is fortunate that it has not. Amusement is itself an advantage. The vigor, which the understanding derives from exercise on every subject, is a great advantage. If there should be any utility in history, it must be very useful, that it should be accurate — which it never will be, unless there be a solicitude to ascertain the truth even of its minutest parts. History is read with pleasure, and with moral effect, only so far as it engages our feelings in the merit or demerit, in the fame or fortune, of historical personages. If it did not excite such feelings, we should study it with the same coolness and tranquillity with which we study physical science. But, in contemplating the fortunes of our fellow creatures, in history, in fiction, or in real life, we are eager, we are intensely anxious to discover the guilt or innocence, the claims to eminence, or the events of the lives of those whose characters have excited in our minds strong feelings, whether friendly or adverse. Our interest in the history of past times is of the same nature with our sentiments on the matters that daily occur around us. The breathless anxiety, with which the obscure and

* Edinburgh Review for June 1826, vol. 44, page 1; in an article ascribed to Sir James Mackintosh.

conflicting evidence on a trial at law is watched by the by-standers, is but a variety of the same feeling, which prompts the reader of history to examine the proofs against Mary Queen of Scots, with as deep interest as if she were alive, and were now on her trial. And it is wisely ordered, that it should be so. For the condition of mankind would not, upon the whole, be bettered by our feeling less strongly about each others' concerns.'

This able writer then enumerates various problems of the kind in question — as, 'Who wrote the book which bears the name of Thomas a-Kempis? Who was Perkin Warbeck? Was Queen Mary an accomplice in the murder of Lord Darnley? Who was the Prisoner in the Iron Mask? Who was the writer of the Whole Duty of Man? *Who wrote the Letters of Junius?*' And, after briefly adverting to the state of the evidence on these several problems, he makes the following remarks on the last of them:

'The writer of the Letters of Junius is still undiscovered [June, 1826]. The only claim entitled to discussion, is that set up for *Sir Philip Francis*, in spite of that gentleman himself, by Mr Taylor, in the very ingenious book, too boldly entitled 'Junius Identified.'* From that book, especially from the interest

* After the appearance of Mr Taylor's first publication, the Editor of the English *Monthly Magazine* made a direct inquiry of Sir Philip Francis, as to his authorship; to this the following reply was made; which, notwithstanding its strong language, Mr Taylor is pleased to consider as so evasive, that he wonders 'how any one can have been misled by it for a moment:'

'Sir, — The great civility of your letter induces me to answer it, which, with reference merely to its subject matter, I should have declined. Whether you will assist in giving

taken by Junius in the petty intrigues of the War Office, and from the coincidence of the artificial hand-writing of Junius with the artificial hand-writing of Sir Philip, in the possession of Mr Giles, we may probably infer, that Sir Philip was in the confidence of Junius and perhaps his amanuensis. The supposition, however, most prevalent among contemporary politicians and men of letters was, that the Letters were written by Mr Dyer, an original member of Johnson's Club, and an intimate friend of Burke, from whom the writer might have received some of his information, perhaps casually; and from whose conversation the few but striking *Burkisms*, so much at variance with the general tenor of the style, might have overflowed into the mind of Dyer and almost insensibly dropped from his pen. A simple test ascertains the *political connexion* of Junius — the only circumstance which he could not disguise, *because it could not be concealed without defeating his general purpose.* He supported the cause of authority against America — with Mr Grenville, the minister who passed the Stamp Act. He maintained the highest popular principles on the Middlesex Election — with the same statesman, who was the leader of opposition on that question. *No other party in the kingdom but the Grenvilles combined these two opinions;* and it is very unlikely, that a private writer, unpledged and unconnected, should have spontaneously embraced political doctrines, which, though ingenuity might re-

currency to a silly, malignant falsehood, is a question for your own discretion. To me it is a matter of perfect indifference.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

P. Francis.'

' *To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.*'

concile them in reasoning, were, in the disputes of that period, the opposite extremes.'

After these just remarks, this reviewer arrives at the following conclusion — 'Whoever revives the inquiry, therefore, unless he discovers positive and irresistible evidence in support of his claimant, should show him to be *politically attached to the Grenville party, which Junius certainly was*, and must also produce some specimens of his writings of tolerable length, such as might afford reasonable ground for believing, that he could have written these Letters — which must be allowed to be finished models, though not of the purest and highest sort of composition. The general vigor of a man's mental powers affords little more proof that he could be a good writer, than that he could be a great painter. There may indeed be evidence so positive, as will establish the truth of the supposition which appeared most improbable — as has actually happened in the case of the Iron Mask. But such possibilities must exist in all moral reasonings.'

On the present question, however, the reviewer justly adds, in a note to his article (p. 6), the following qualifications of his general conclusion — 'It is not to be understood, that other persons may not have held opinions adverse to the cause of the Americans and favorable to that of Wilkes. The value of the criterion depends on the improbability, that, on the two most important questions which occurred for ten years, a writer of great ability should zealously, frequently, and for a long period, write in support of the popular side on one, and of the unpopular on the other, unless he, or those whom he supported, had been pledged to these opposite opinions, by measures of so public and decisive

a nature as to cut off all retreat. It may be oberved also, that Junius, who is unfriendly to Lord Chatham in the beginning, loads that nobleman with panegyric, after he was reconciled to Lord Temple and Mr Grenville. There did, and perhaps there still does exist, a private letter from Junius to Mr Grenville, professing political attachment, and at the same time discouraging all attempts to pluck off his mask. Wilkes was originally Member for Aylesbury, and Lieutenant Colonel of the Bucks Militia, under Lord Temple. Hence the extravagantly disproportioned interest taken by Junius in every petty intrigue of alderman and sheriffs, which touched that celebrated adventurer. Though a few letters were written after the death of Mr Grenville, yet to that event and the dissolution of his *party*, *the cessation* of Junius is to be attributed. In these circumstances, and others not yet publicly known, originated the supposition that Mr Lloyd was Junius. But some specimen of his writing is wanting to countenance that supposition. In the cases of Dyer and Francis, the two candidates of most plausible pretension, *no proof has hitherto appeared of connexion with the Grenville party*. Some resemblance of style in Francis is a very inconsiderable argument; for almost every contributor to a newspaper, during the twenty years which followed the Letters, was an imitator of Junius.' *

The justness of these reflections will be evident upon a careful attention to the facts exhibited in the following Letters; and, to use the language of the science of demonstration, all the essential conditions of the problem will be satisfied. In order, however, that the

* Edinburgh Review, *ubi sup.*

reader may be possessed of the actual state of this curious and interesting question, it may be useful to take a brief review of the history of the Junius controversy. For, though every reader has a general knowledge of it, yet few persons, probably, have a sufficiently precise recollection of particulars to enable them to make any useful comparison of what has been written, or supposed to be discovered, with what is brought into view in the present publication. A very summary account of the principal claims, which have been made for different authors, will accordingly be here given.

On the first appearance of Junius's Letters, the attention of the public, as well as of the parties interested, was immediately directed to the discovery of an author, who discussed the gravest constitutional questions with an ability, which was equalled only by his remorseless severity and fearlessness in scanning the measures and private characters of the men, who directed the affairs of Great Britain at that period — not sparing even the sacred and inviolable majesty of the sovereign himself.

The various claims, however, which have been made on behalf of the greater part of the supposed authors, may be disposed of without any difficulty; even some which have been brought forward under the most plausible and imposing circumstances. In this class we may now place that, which has been lately renewed with so much earnestnestness, for Mr *Charles Lloyd*, who was at that period a clerk of the Treasury, and afterwards a deputy-teller of the Exchequer. Much importance has been attached to this claim, in consequence of the very decided opinion in its favor, which was long entertained, and was defended to the last with

the most obstinate heroism, by that late eminent English scholar, Dr Parr — a claim, to which the authority of this venerated and remarkable man has given its chief consequence, but which will be examined in a subsequent part of our remarks, and, as we think, shown to be unsupported.

For the mere convenience of reference, the claims of the supposed authors will be here very briefly considered, in the alphabetical order of their respective names or titles.

1. Lord Ashburton, more familiarly known as *Mr Dunning*, the celebrated English lawyer, has been long suspected as the author of Junius. The most formal and express claim in his favor was made in the highly valuable, though now somewhat neglected, edition of Junius, published in London in 1801, under the name of '*Robert Heron, Esquire,*' and reprinted in the United States in 1804, upon which some further remarks will be hereafter made. That editor says, in very guarded language — 'I believe myself to have nearly discovered who was certainly the author of these Letters. But I have, without entirely satisfying myself, protracted inquiries, and renewed my doubts, till the necessity of publication calls upon me to interrupt them with an imperiousness that is no longer to be resisted. I cannot now lay before the reader all the details of facts and circumstances on which my judgment is founded. The result I shall briefly state. The author of these Letters was no other than the celebrated Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton.'

This editor then proceeds to argue, but by no means on satisfactory grounds, that Lord Ashburton *alone* had those motives for attacking Lord Mansfield and the Duke

of Grafton, which certainly influenced the mind of Junius — that he alone possessed that knowledge of the constitutional law — that the nervous, epigrammatic cast of his speeches and pleadings had no mean resemblance to the style and manner of Junius — that he had those political connexions with different parties and individuals, which the letters imply — that he had the strongest reasons for concealing the authorship forever, on account of the favors received by him from the crown, &c.

In answer to this claim, however, it is justly observed in the Preliminary Essay to Woodfall's Junius — now well understood to have been written by Dr John Mason Good — that 'Dunning was Solicitor General at the time these Letters first appeared, and for more than a twelve-month afterwards; and Junius himself has openly and solemnly affirmed — "*I am no lawyer by profession;* nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country." Dunning was a man of high and unblemished honor, as well as of high independent principles; it cannot therefore be supposed, that he would have vilified the king, while one of the king's confidential servants and counsellors; nor would he as a barrister have written to Woodfall in the course of a confidential correspondence —"I am *advised*, that no jury will find a bill.'"*

To these remarks we may add, that Junius constantly manifests a fixed and by no means an affected contempt for the legal profession. In one of his letters to Mr Wilkes (Sept. 18, 1771), he says, with an earnest

* See, among other places, Junius's Preface; Letters 14 and 68; Private Letters to Wilkes. Sept. 18. 1771. No 70.

desire to repel the suspicion of his being one of that fraternity — 'Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer. I had as lief be a Scotchman. It is the encouragement given to disputes about titles, which has supported that iniquitous profession at the expense of the community.'* And in one of his letters to Lord Mansfield, he says in the same contemptuous strain — 'To investigate a question of law demands some labor and attention, though very little genius or sagacity. As a *practical profession*, the study of the law requires but a moderate portion of abilities. The learning of a pleader is usually on a level with his integrity† If there be any instances upon record, as some there are undoubtedly, of genius and morality united in a lawyer, they are distinguished by their singularity, and operate as exceptions.'‡

It is not easy in all cases to determine, how far we may safely draw a conclusion from the declarations made by an anonymous writer respecting himself; but we may, without much risk of error, assume it as a safe ground of argument, that it is next to impossible for a writer to put on a professional character, when it is not his real one, or to throw it off when it is, without betraying himself in his language or mode of thinking; he cannot at all times be upon his guard. Now the declarations of Junius, that he was not a lawyer by profession, and his contemptuous opinions of the professors of the law, are consistently kept up throughout

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. 1, p. 312.

† It may be remarked, in passing, that this term, *pleader*, appears to be here used rather in the popular than the professional sense.

‡ Junius, Letter 68.

his letters; they may therefore be assumed as truly indicating that he was not a lawyer.

From considerations of this kind, that eminent English jurist, Charles Butler, Esq. inferred, as he originally expressed himself, that Junius 'was not a profound lawyer, from the gross inaccuracy of his legal expressions;' as when he says 'in his Dedication to the English nation,' the power of king, lords and commons is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The *fee simple* is in *us*.' Now in all trusts of the inheritance, Mr Butler remarks, 'the fee simple is in the trustees.' * This learned writer, in the second volume of his Reminiscences, expresses himself in still stronger terms, and does not merely suppose that Junius was not 'a profound' lawyer, but says, that a strong argument against his being 'a lawyer' by profession, might be supported by the great inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions. He then quotes a second time, the inaccurate expression just cited. With that candor, however, which distinguishes his writings, he opposes to this argument a remark made to him by Burke on that point —'Junius,' said Mr Burke in reply, 'probably was thinking of those long terms for years, which you lawyers so dexterously carve out of the fee simple, while you leave the fee simple in possession of the owner.' On this same 'inaccuracy' of Junius, Mr Barker observes, 'an intelligent legal friend thinks, that in that particular instance the mistake might have been made by a professional man, because many lawyers are much less acquainted than Mr Butler is with the conveyancing department of the law.'†

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. 1, p. 71, and Note, American edition.

† Barker's Letters on the Authorship of Junius. London, 1828.

But, whatever weight should be given to the inference drawn from this single expression of Junius (which is only one circumstance among many in the course of the work), the public is now in possession of one piece of evidence, from the family of Lord Ashburton, which is not to be lightly rejected. Mr Butler, in a letter to Mr Barker of the 14th of June, 1828, long subsequent to the publication of the *Reminiscences*, states the following facts: 'It was once mentioned to me, that the late Lady Ashburton produced a proof-impression of one of Junius's Letters, with corrections of the press in Mr Dunning's handwriting. This was afterwards explicitly confirmed by a letter from a person present, when Lady Ashburton produced the letter. Being well acquainted with the last Lord Ashburton, I informed his lordship of the tale, and requested his sentiments upon it. He disclaimed, with indignation, his father's authorship of the letters; said, no such proof-impression had been found among his papers, and that he had never heard his mother mention anything of the kind. He stated other circumstances, which led him to think, that the story deserved no attention.'*

On an impartial review, then, of the evidence adduced in favor of the opinion expressed by Mr Heron and many others — that Lord Ashburton was the author of Junius, — we cannot resist the conclusion, that it is not supported.

2. *Hugh Macaulay Boyd.* It is justly remarked, in the *Preliminary Essay* to Woodfall's Junius, that 'of all the pretenders, however, to the honor of having written Junius, Hugh Macaulay Boyd has been brought forward with the most confidence.' He adds, 'yet of all

* Barker's Letters, preface, p. lxiv.

of them, there is not one whose claims are more easily and completely refuted.' * Mr Butler, too, in a letter originally published in the Anti-Jacobin Review, and now republished in his Reminiscences, observes — 'As for Macaulay Boyd's being the author of Junius it is a perfect joke; no two characters can be more perfectly unlike, than Boyd's and Junius's. He must have been very young, when Junius's letters were written.'†

The argument in favor of Boyd, as stated in Woodfall's Junius, rests principally upon 'three slender facts.' Boyd's imitation of the style of Junius — the suspicion of Almon the printer respecting his handwriting — and an anecdote of Lord Irnham, 'in conjunction with a few others of a nature merely collateral, and which, when separated from them, prove nothing whatever' — though these gentlemen [the advocates of Boyd] undertake to regard it as a moral certainty that Macaulay Boyd did write the letters of Junius.'

All these arguments have been, as we think, satisfactorily answered, at large, in the *Preliminary Essay* above cited. We shall here advert to but two or three of them.

The early letters of Junius (published under the signatures of Atticus and Lucius), were written when Boyd must have been on a visit to Ireland, in 1768; yet 'the rapidity with which they seized hold of the events of the moment and replied to the numerous vindications and apologies of the government party,' proves, that they 'must have been written, not at Belfast, but in *London* or its immediate vicinity.' ‡ To this the

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 133.

† Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 78, Amer. edition.

‡ Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 148, 150, 144.

learned editor adds another fact of no small weight — that the late Mr Woodfall 'made no scruple of denying the assertion [of Boyd's authorship] peremptorily; admitting at the same time, that he was not absolutely certain who did write them.' The first of these 'early letters' appeared, under the signature of Poplicola, in the Public Advertiser of April 28, 1767, 'when Boyd had not, as yet, attained his 21st year' — an age at which he could not have been competent to discuss the great subjects of the letters, and when it would not have been natural for him to have made such reflections as the following — 'after *long* experience of the world I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy'* — with innumerable others of a similar cast. The pecuniary circumstances, too, of Boyd, who was described by Almon as 'a broken gentleman without a guinea in his pocket,' are totally inconsistent with those of Junius, as manifested on all occasions of his correspondence with Woodfall. But for further details of Boyd, we refer the reader to Woodfall's Junius.

3. *Edmund Burke.* It was justly remarked many years ago, that 'the style, the favorite phraseology, the methods of reasoning, several of the principles, the topics and images of illustration in the letters of Junius, are as entirely different from those in the works of Burke, as it is possible for the effusions of one great mind to be from those of another, on the same class of subjects.' † Since that period, the claim in favor of Burke has been renewed by his biographer, Mr Prior. But, as Mr Butler observes, 'he has not removed even one of the objections made to Mr Burke's authorship in the former volume of

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. i p. 152, note.

† Heron's Junius, vol. i, p. 67, American edition.

the Reminiscences; and the facts adduced by the biographer in support of it, fall very short of proof.' In the volume alluded to, Mr Butler had observed, that Burke spoke of Junius 'in terms of disgust.'* This learned writer then makes the following discrimination in the characteristics of Burke and Junius. 'Mr Burke generalizes every thing; Junius dwells forever on particulars; Junius frequently leaves half his meaning to be guessed; Burke displays all. Can any reason be assigned for attributing to Mr Burke the *personal* hatred which Junius evidently had for his late majesty, the Duke of Bedford, or for Lord Mansfield? Those, who knew the very lofty notions which Mr Burke entertained of himself and his own ministerial powers and qualifications, must think it impossible that he should have written the line — 'I accept a simile from Burke, a sarcasm from Barré.'† Those too, who know the labor which any literary labor cost Mr Burke, his endless blots, emendations and transcriptions, and ultimately his private impressions, still blotted and still amended, must be sensible how irreconcilable all this is with the fecundity and rapidity of Junius.'

Mr Butler then adds, what is of a more decisive character — that 'on several most important points, Burke and Junius were in direct opposition to each other; Burke was a partizan of Lord Rockingham; Junius, of George Grenville. On the Stamp Act, on Triennial Parliaments, they were completely at variance. Junius attached much importance to city politics; in these Burke never appeared.' Nor is it credi-

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 69, &c.

† Junius's Letters.

ble, as Mr Butler and others have remarked, that Burke would have spoken of himself in such terms of eulogy as he applies to Junius, in one of his speeches in the House of Commons: 'How comes this Junius,' says he, 'to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you. No! they disdain such vermin when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he strikes down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and that there was an end to his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many truths; yes, sir, there are in that composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom with which I was struck. In these respects the North Briton is as inferior to him, as in strength, wit and judgment. But while I expected in this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both houses of parliament! Yes, he did make *you* his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and still crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded the terrors of *your* brow, sir;* for he has attacked even you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our royal

* Sir Fletcher Norton (Speaker of the House of Commons), who was distinguished by a pair of large, black eye-brows.

eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate; and king, lords, and commons are but the sports of his fury. Were he a member of this house, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness and integrity? He would easily be known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigor. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity, nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal anything from the public.'

In addition to these circumstances, Mr Burke, in the year 1784, instituted a prosecution against Junius's printer, Woodfall; and, though considerable interest was made with Mr Burke to induce him to drop the prosecution, in different stages, he was inexorable, and pursued it to a verdict 'with the utmost acrimony,' * and obtained £100 damages, 'the whole of which was paid to the prosecutor.' † Besides this, his political conduct, was wholly at variance with the supposition of his authorship. Among other instances, when Mr Grenville published his 'Present State of the Nation' (in 1769), Burke immediately answered it, and arraigned the author and his friends with a vehemence peculiar to himself.‡

It is also a fact, that Burke always disclaimed the authorship. As long ago as the year 1779, Dr Johnson observed — 'I should have believed Burke to be Junius, because I know no man but Burke who is capable of writing these letters; but *Burke spontaneously denied* it to me. The case would have been different,

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, page 81.

† Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, page 102, note.

‡ Ibid.

had I asked him if he was the author; a man so questioned, as to an anonymous publication, may think he has a right to deny it.' * On another occasion he is stated to have denied it, as related in the following anecdote; Dean Marley, who was at a watering place with him, at a distance from London, suspected him of the authorship; but upon the appearance of one of Junius's letters and an immediate reply to it, which could not have been made by Burke at that distance, Dean Marley said to him — 'Now, Burke, I am clear that you are not the author of Junius;' and Burke answered — 'I could not write like Junius, and if I could, I would not.' † He is also said to have 'expressly and satisfactorily denied it to Mr William Draper, who purposely interrogated him upon the subject; the truth of which denial is, moreover, corroborated by the testimony of the late Mr Woodfall, who repeatedly declared that neither of them [Courtney nor Burke] was the writer.' ‡

One of Mr Burke's biographers, Dr Bissett, after briefly and candidly stating the general arguments for and against his authorship, comes to the following remarkable conclusion, which is believed to be peculiar to himself. 'Were I,' says he, 'to hazard an opinion on the subject, it would be, that Burke was not most frequently the writer of Junius's letters, if he was of any. Though very excellent, they are not equal, nor peculiarly similar, to his productions. They have been imputed to Lord George Germain [Lord Sackville], but I cannot accede to that opinion. Lord George is close

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i, page 83, American edit.

† Letter of General Cockburne to the Editor of the Dublin Magazine, as cited in Mr Barker's Letters, page 239.

‡ Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, page 101.

and correct; in those qualities he resembles Junius; he does not abound in point and imagery; and in those qualities does not resemble Junius. I think Lord George Germain not Junius, because inferior to the latter; Burke, because superior.' *

Another, and a popular biographer, Mr Prior, inclines to the opinion that Burke was the author of Junius. His reasoning on the point is certainly remarkable; and, if resorted to in other cases, would lead to results as remarkable. He says, in the first place, that 'internal evidence, so far as regards the style, is not to be looked for, where the aim was such profound concealment.' Undoubtedly the author would desire to conceal himself under an assumed style, and might for a short time, in a single letter or two, succeed in his attempt. But, unless he were already known to the public as a writer, there would be no necessity of assuming this disguise; and if he had written enough to have formed a manner which already distinguished him from others, his habit and manner would, in a course of steady writing for four or five years, frequently break out and betray him. Besides, why do we argue that Junius's Letters themselves were all written by one person, unless from their generally uniform character in style and matter? And why are the advocates of different candidates for the authorship called upon to produce specimens of acknowledged productions of their candidates, in proof of their claims?

This biographer also adopts the common mode of argument on another point; that the attacks and sneers aimed at his candidate by Junius, and the incompati-

* Bissett's Life of Burke, vol. i, p. 164, 2d edition.

bility of their political opinions, are to be considered as profound stratagems of war, to which the secret enemy resorted, the better to conceal himself. On this latter point, the reasoning of the able reviewer above quoted is a sufficient reply — Junius had certain political objects in view, which he could only hope to effect by the aid of his political friends; he could not, therefore, have the childish folly to attempt, under a disguise, to write down the same political friends and their measures, whom he was strenuously exerting himself in public to advance and defend.

4. *Dr Butler*, Bishop of Hereford; formerly Secretary to the Right Hon. Bilson Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and father to the present Lord Stawell. On the subject of his claims, it has been observed — 'that although he was a man of some ability, and occasionally a political writer, yet 'he never discovered those talents that could in any respect put him upon an equality with Junius.'* To which may be added the opinion of 'a friend of Dr Butler's and who himself took an active part in the politics of the times,' as expressed in 'a letter to a high official character of the present day.' He says — 'from all that I was ever able to learn of the Bishop's *personal character*, he was incapable of discovering or feeling those rancorous sentiments, so unbecoming his character as a Christian, and his station as a prelate, expressed towards the Duke of Grafton, Lord North, Sir William Draper, and others — more especially the king.'†

5. *The Earl of Chatham.* This celebrated man, has been often mentioned among the conjectured auth-

* Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, p. 120.

† Ibid, p. 121.

ors of Junius; but, though a general and indistinct view of the evidence, in a mass and on one side only, might leave an impression favorable to this opinion, yet the moment we begin to analyze it, the impression is dissipated. The whole course of opinions maintained or combated by Junius on several fundamental points in the politics of that day, were in direct opposition to those of Lord Chatham. 'He could not' as an able writer before quoted observes, 'disguise his *political connexion*, because it could not be concealed without defeating his general purpose.'* Besides this, the severe attacks of Junius upon Lord Chatham from the year 1767 to 1769, not exceeded and perhaps not equalled in rancour by any of his letters, and afterwards his unmeasured panegyric of that eminent man, are utterly incompatible with the supposition of his authorship; as will abundantly appear in the course of the following letters.

It is a little remarkable, that this hypothesis, which was started several years ago (we believe it is mentioned in the Monthly Review of 1810, among other places, but we have not the volume at hand), should be revived at the present time, simultaneously, by one writer in England, Mr Swinden, and by one in our own country, Dr Benjamin Waterhouse. The modest and unassuming tone of the former, which is a small pamphlet, forbid our speaking of it in such terms as its slender and unsatisfactory contents would justify. When a writer who undertakes to discuss a subject, of all others, requiring careful examination and minute accuracy, comes so ill prepared to his task, that he confounds Mr *George* Grenville with *Lord* Grenville — and feels so insecure in his historical knowledge, that he speaks of

* Edinburgh Review, vol. 44, p. 5.

the most notorious events as of occurrences which he has '*understood*' to have happened, his readers will take little satisfaction in accompanying him through an intricate investigation. The work of our learned countryman, Dr Waterhouse, who is a veteran in the corps of our American literati, as well as in his own profession, is of a very different character. The writer of the following letters, p. 230, considers it the best which he has seen on the authorship of Junius; though he cannot, of course, consider the *argument* of Dr Waterhouse as satisfactory. For further remarks upon it we refer the reader to the whole of his 32d letter; as we also do to the whole series of the letters, for an answer to the arguments which are urged in favor of Lord Chatham's authorship.

6. *Dunning.*— See ASHBURTON.

7. *Samuel Dyer.* He is described by Boswell as 'a most learned and ingenious member of the Literary Club, for whose understanding and attainments Dr Johnson had great respect.'* But he died September 14, 1772; and Junius continued to write for some months after that; his last letter being dated January 19, 1773.†

8. *Henry Flood.* It is a sufficient answer to the claim made in his favor, that he was absent from London (being in Ireland) throughout a great part of the summer of 1768, and at a time when Junius was constantly corresponding with his printer, and with a rapidity which could not have been maintained, even at a hundred, and occasionally at less than fifty miles distance from the British metropolis.‡

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i, p. 374.

† Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, vol. i, p. 100.

‡ Ibid, 157.

9. *Sir Philip Francis.* The claims made in favor of this gentleman have for some time past attracted much attention. The volume published in support of them, by Mr Taylor, under the title of *Junius Identified*, reached a second edition in England in 1818, and has been once published in America. Of this work Mr Butler observes — 'the *external* evidence is very strong; so strong, perhaps, that if he had been tried upon it for a libel, and the case had rested upon the facts from which this evidence is formed, the judge would have directed the jury to find him guilty. But the *internal* evidence against him, from the inequality of his acknowledged writings, is also very strong; if the able author of the article "Junius" in the Edinburgh Review [for November, 1817], had not professed a different opinion, the present writer would have pronounced it decisive.'* And by way of reply to the argument founded on some passages of Sir Philip's writings, Mr Butler justly asks — 'Are the glow and loftiness discernible in every page of Junius once visible in any of these extracts? Where do we find in the writings of Sir Philip, those thoughts that breathe, those words that burn, which Junius scatters in every page? A single drop of the *cobra* [de] *capello*, which falls from Junius so often.'†

In these sentiments, every reader, who is capable of feeling the force of English style, will concur. Mr Butler, after a short discussion of the question, comes to the conclusion, that 'all external evidence is in favor of Sir Philip, all internal evidence is against him. Thus the argument on each side, neutralizes the argument on the other, and the pretension of Sir Philip vanishes.'

* Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 81.
† Ibid, p. 83.

After this view of the case, Mr Butler argues, that a third hypothesis is necessary, to which he himself inclines — that Sir Philip might have acted as the amanuensis of Junius, and might occasionally have given information or hints to his principal, and therefore might properly be called his collaborator.' Mr Butler, however, very candidly adds, that besides the fact of Sir Philip's being a young man at the time, the circumstances of fortune, intercourse with the world, and the offers of indemnity to Woodfall, are all inconsistent with the claims made on his behalf.*

The deference manifested by Mr Butler for the opinion expressed in the Edinburgh Review will be diminished by an article since published in the same journal (for June, 1826, already quoted), in which it is observed — ' The writer of the Letters of Junius is *still undiscovered.* The only claim entitled to discussion is that set up for Sir Philip Francis, *in spite of that gentleman himself*, by Mr Taylor in the very ingenious book, too boldly entitled '*Junius Identified.*' The able writer of this article, however, thinks, from circumstances in the case, that we ' may probably infer, that Sir Philip was in the confidence of Junius, and *perhaps* his amanuensis.' †

In opposition to the claim of Sir Philip Francis, Mr E. H. Barker has lately, with vast labor, collected in a volume of nearly six hundred pages, all the evidence which was accessible, by means of an extensive correspondence with various persons, who would be likely to possess any facts in relation to the subject. Those readers who have given any attention to this claim, if

* Reminiscences, vol. i, page 83.

† Edinburgh Review, vol. xliv, page 9, for June, 1826.

doubts have hitherto existed in their minds, must, we think, upon a careful and impartial consideration of the great mass of evidence now brought together, have their doubts removed. In our humble judgment, this claim is completely demolished.

It is impossible, in the limits prescribed to these remarks, to give even an abridgment of the numerous facts and reasonings exhibited against this claim; but a few of the principal ones must be noticed.

One of them is, that although it may have happened that Sir Philip Francis had feelings of revenge to gratify, for slighted services, and might, from that motive, have exposed the transactions of the War Office, yet, unluckily for this hypothesis, 'Junius had sprung up two or three years before; at first, under other names, and then under that Roman appellation, Junius;' and this hypothesis, too, as Mr Barker has observed, assumes, that Sir Philip, while only twentyseven years of age, and a clerk in that office, should have ventured into a political discussion that put at hazard his own advancement; and that he must have begun his literary career by a series of papers, perfect in their style of composition, and his political career by professing hose high public principles which belonged only to experienced statesmen.*

Another formidable objection, stated at large by Mr Barker, in the language of his correspondent, is, the hostility shown for a long time by Junius to Lord Chatham; which, it would be contrary to reason to suppose, could have proceeded from a man, who, like Sir Philip, had been patronised by that noble lord, and was under

* Barker's Letters, pp. 5, 6.

such deep obligations to him.* Mr Barker, it is true, thinks that the author cited by him (Mr Coventry), does not state this part of the case with perfect fairness, because he omits to mention that Junius did, at a subsequent period, speak in warm commendation of Lord Chatham. But it may be still replied, that until some adequate cause shall be assigned for an opposite course of conduct on the part of Sir Philip towards Lord Chatham at the two different periods — that is, bitter enmity to him in the outset, and conciliatory, and even friendly language accompanied with high panegyric, afterwards — the mere existence of such hostility on the part of the protegé towards his patron still leaves much weight in this objection. Upon the hypothesis, however, which is adopted in the following Letters, namely, that *Lord Temple* was the author of Junius, this same hostility and subsequent reconciliation become an essential part of the proof. Mr Barker justly observes, that 'in order to identify Sir Philip with Junius from the sentiments avowed by each about Lord Chatham, Mr Taylor is required to prove, that Sir Philip ever, at any period of his whole life, sympathized with Junius in personal hatred and political hostility, or even in the smallest degree of personal and political aversion to Lord Chatham; if he cannot produce such a proof, then I maintain, that he ought to abandon his opinion as quite untenable from this consideration alone.'†

The argument in favor of Sir Philip Francis, which is founded on the resemblance of his style to that of Junius, loses much of its weight by the fact, that he never

* See also Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1828.

† Barker's Letters, p. 30, seqq. where the argument is carried out at large.

published anything till several years after Junius had ceased to write; and he therefore had the same opportunity with many other writers of forming his style upon that model. And, even with that advantage, though several resemblances in mere language have been industriously brought together, yet the elevated and sustained tone of thinking, which characterises Junius as much as a lofty and steady flight distinguishes the royal bird above all others, is not, in our judgment, to be found in Sir Philip Francis.

10. *Mr Glover*, the author of Leonidas. This writer is one of the only three, whose claims in the opinion of Mr Butler, 'deserve any consideration;' the other two are Burke and Sir Philip Francis. 'To support the pretensions of Mr Glover,' says Mr Butler, 'no evidence is adduced, except that something of the high Whig principles of Junius is discoverable in the volume which has been published of *Glover's Memoirs;* and, that Glover is known to have lived in an elevated line of society, in which these principles were professed.' But this evidence, as Mr. Butler candidly admits, 'amounts to little; and the style of his "Memoirs" is very unlike that of Junius.'* It is unnecessary to add any thing further on the claims of Mr Glover.

11. William Gerard *Hamilton*, familiarly known by the appellation of *Single-Speech Hamilton.* Of him the editor of Woodfall's Junius observes — 'he had neither energy nor personal courage enough for such an undertaking;' and 'solemnly denied' the authorship 'to Mr Courtney in his last illness, as that gentleman has personally informed the editor;' the truth of which denial,

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 100 — 101.

he adds, 'is moreover corroborated by the testimony of the late Mr Woodfall, who repeatedly declared, that neither of them [Hamilton and Burke] was the writer of these compositions.' * Besides this evidence, Mr Malone, in his preface to Hamilton's *Parliamentary Logic*, states, that Hamilton made a 'solemn asseveration near the time of his death, that he was not the author of Junius.' He adds the following anecdote, which at once goes to the disclaiming of the authorship, and contrasts the literary taste of the two writers — 'The figures and allusions of Junius are often of so different a race from those which our author [Hamilton] would have used, that he never spoke of some of them without the strongest disapprobation; and particularly, when a friend, for the purpose of drawing him out, affected to think him the writer of these papers, and, bantering him on the subject, taxed him with that passage, in which a nobleman then in a high office, is said to have "travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the *scorpion*, in which he *stung* Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a *virgin*," &c., as if this imagery were much in his style. Mr Hamilton, with great vehemence exclaimed — "had I written such a sentence as that, I should have thought I had forfeited all pretensions to good taste in composition forever."'

In addition to these facts, it will be also recollected, that Hamilton was chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland from 1763 to 1784, during which period all Junius's Letters appeared; and that he was also against a parliamentary reform, which with Junius was a favorite object.† The anecdote which has contributed to

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 100—101.

† Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 118.

fix the authorship on Hamilton — that he told one of his friends the contents of a letter of Junius *before its publication*, is sufficiently accounted for, as has been often remarked, by supposing that Woodfall might have read it to him the day before it happened to be printed.

12. Major-general Charles *Lee*. So much importance had been attached to the claim made in favor of General Lee (originating in a statement of Mr T. Rodney, published in the Wilmington Mirror, State of Delaware), that the Editor of Woodfall's Junius has made a minute and careful comparison of dates, which conclusively proves, that it is wholly unsupported. The results were, briefly — that Lee's great distance from England, being on the continent of Europe at that time, and his well known politics, render it impossible that he should have written the letters.* Mr Barker adds — that 'General Lee had the requisite ardor of mind and the leisure, but wanted the spirit of industry admitted to have been indispensably necessary for Junius.'†

13. Charles *Lloyd*. That eminent scholar, the late Dr Parr, in a letter to Charles Butler, Esq., dated April 9, 1822, says, in his usual emphatic manner, — 'Your account of Junius is very entertaining; but I tell you, and *peremptorily tell you*, that the real Junius was secretary to George Grenville, of whom you cannot forget, that having ceased to be prime minister, he was so provoked as to attend an angry county meeting in Bucks. The name of Junius was *Lloyd*. Lord Grenville knows, the late Marquis of Buckingham once dropped three or four significant words; but I

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. i. p. 129.

† Barker's Letters, p. 43.

will tell you more when we meet in London.'* The same opinion is expressed with equal confidence in another letter from Dr Parr to Mr Butler — 'I, for these forty years, have had the *firmest conviction*, that Junius was Mr Lloyd, brother of Philip Lloyd, Dean of Norwich, and secretary to George Grenville.'† This learned writer has also noted down the same firm belief in the Catalogue of his Library, under the article Junius: 'The writer of Junius was Mr Lloyd, secretary to George Grenville, and brother to Philip Lloyd, dean of Norwich. This will one day or other be generally acknowledged. S. P.'‡

But this long settled and unshaken opinion of Dr Parr is opposed by the strong fact stated by the Editor of Woodfall's Junius — that Lloyd was on his death-bed at the date of Junius's final letter, January 19, 1773 — his death having taken place in three days afterwards, January 22, 1773; and yet the letter contains sufficient proof of having been written in the possession of full health and spirits,' &c.§ This single fact is thought, by the editor here cited, to be conclusive evidence against Mr Lloyd's claim. It has, however, been considered as far from being conclusive by several writers; some of whom have observed, that a man might be well able to write such a letter, as the one last mentioned, even three days before his death; that the letter itself is

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. ii., p. 241, American edit. Lett. xii.

† Butler's Reminiscence, vol. ii, p. 223, Letter ix, without a date.

‡ Biblioth. Parriana, p. 407.

§ Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 100 of Prelim. Essay.

very short, and therefore proves nothing of intellectual ability.'*

Mr Butler is of this opinion; and he considers it a strong argument in favor of Lloyd, that when he died, Junius ceased to write.† But there are, obviously, many other reasons than natural death for a discontinuance of the Letters. In the letter now immediately under consideration he gives sufficient reasons for suspending his labors, though invited by Woodfall to resume his pen. He says — ' In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any one of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. *Both are given up.* I feel for the honor of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.'‡ The editor of Heron's Junius also, in commenting upon an expression in the *Dedication to the English Nation* — ' if Junius lives, you shall often be reminded of it,' i. e. the dangers to which their apathy exposes them — makes the following just remarks: ' We do not know that this promise was ever fulfilled. Yet it is not from this to be inferred, that the author of these letters died immediately after he had collected them. A change of mind, an alteration of circumstances, a thousand causes which we cannot estimate, might intervene, to make Junius drop the pen forever, after he had formed a monument of ge-

* Barker's Letters, p. 252.

† Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 252.

‡ Junius's Private Letters to Woodfall, Letter 63, in Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 255.

nius and public virtue, which it is not easy to be supposed that he could have by any subsequent efforts excelled.' *

These views are entirely in accordance with the remarks of the late Editor of Woodfall's Junius, who says — 'In truth it must have been, as he himself states it, insanity, to have persisted any longer in anything like a regular attack; Lord Camden had declined to act upon his suggestion; the great phalanx of the Whig party was broken up by the death of Mr George Grenville; the vanity and extreme jealousy of Oliver and Horne had introduced the most acrimonious divisions into the Society for supporting the Bill of Rights: and the leading *patriots* of the city had so intermixed their own private interests and their own private squabbles with the public cause, as to render this cause itself contemptible in the eye of the people at large. He had already tried, but in vain, to awaken the different contending parties to a sense of better and more honorable motives; to induce them to forego their selfish and individual disputes, and to make a common sacrifice of them upon the altar of the constitution. Yet, at the same time, so small were his expectations of success, so mean his opinion of the pretensions of most of the leading demagogues of the day to a real love of their country, and so grossly had he himself been occasionally misrepresented by them, that, in his confidential intercourse, he bade his correspondent beware of entrusting himself to them. 'Nothing,' says he, 'can be more express than my declaration against long parliaments; try Mr Wilkes once more,

* Heron's Junius, vol. i, p. xvii, of Dedication, in note.

(who was in private possession of his sentiments upon this subject); speak for me in a most friendly, but *firm* tone, that I *will not* submit to be any longer aspersed. Between ourselves, let me recommend it to you to be much on your guard with *patriots.*'*

These are, certainly, good reasons for his ceasing to write; and, upon the hypothesis that Lord Temple was Junius, they will be found to have been the true ones.

Besides; this letter of January 19, 1773, was acknowledged by Woodfall, in his reply of the 7th March following (in the Public Advertiser of the 8th March) as usual, and his 'signals' for Junius again thrown out; which would hardly have been done, if, as many believe, Woodfall knew Junius; for at the time of this acknowledgment Lloyd had been dead a month and a half.† In that reply, too, Woodfall apologizes (March 7), for not sending the copies of the Letters, which he was to get bound for the author, by informing him that he did not get them out of the binder's hands till the day before, March 6. He must then have sent them, as Mr G. Coventry observes, in his correspondence with Mr Barker, to the place which had been appointed by Junius, and this was not done till six weeks after Lloyd's death. If then, Junius had been dead at that time, the books would probably have remained at the place, to which they were sent (the Coffee-House), and might have led to a discovery of the author at that period.

13. *John Roberts.* It is sufficient to state here, as in the case of Mr Dyer, the simple fact, that Roberts

* Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, vol. i, p. 55.

† Woodfall, Junius, vol. i, 256, note.

died July 13, 1772, and that Junius continued to write six months after that time.

14. *The Rev. Philip Rosenhagen.* His pretensions, says the Editor of Woodfall's Junius, are hardly worth noticing. He was 'a school-fellow of Mr H. S. Woodfall, continued on terms of acquaintance with him in subsequent life, and occasionally wrote for the Public Advertiser, but was repeatedly declared by Mr Woodfall — who must have a competent evidence of the fact — not to be the author.' * To this may be added, that 'he was of foreign origin, and could not have those English feelings in matters of politics which so forcibly speak in every line' of Junius.†

15. *Lord George Sackville,* or *Lord George Germain.* The claims, which have been often made on behalf of this celebrated man, have lately become a subject of greater interest than ever to American readers, in consequence of an ingeniously written publication from the pen of an American, in a little volume entitled, with some confidence, as we think, 'Junius Unmasked, or Lord George Sackville *proved* to be Junius;' printed at Boston, 1828, but dated, in the preface, 'B——,' which we presume is intended for some other place than Boston. This volume was called forth by that of Mr Coventry, which was published in London (1825) in favor of Lord Sackville's authorship — a point, which the American writer thinks Mr Coventry 'has proved beyond any reasonable doubt.' This learned writer, however, adds to Mr Coventry's evidence in the case 'a class of proofs yet stronger and more irresistible, which he [Mr Coventry] has in a great

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 121.

† Heron's Junius, vol. i, p. 68.

measure, overlooked — I mean, the internal proofs derived from habits of thought and peculiarities of style.' * So decisive does this writer consider the whole evidence to be, and so confident does he feel in the results of his examination, that he hopes 'it will not be thought that there is anything unbecoming or presumptuous' in the title of his book — 'Sackville *proved* to be Junius.' 'I am satisfied,' says he, 'the *proof* is made out; and I flatter myself others will be satisfied.' He afterwards adds — 'If the authorship of Junius be established, it may prevent, for the future, much idle speculation on the subject.' †

How differently does the same evidence strike different minds; and how little hope is there, especially in this inquisitive nation of ours, that we shall repress what this respectable writer calls 'idle' speculation! Since the publication of his ingenious work in 1828, our own press, to say nothing of the English, has already issued two large books, and the present volume makes the third, all denying the claims of his candidate, Lord Sackville, and each ascribing Junius to a different author. Justly may he exclaim with the despairing ancient — *O frustra suscepti mei labores! O spes fallaces! O cogitationes inanes meæ!*

The strong opinion, above quoted, of a writer who appears to have given more attention than the mass of readers to this controversy, and who shows himself to have a just perception of the force of English style, demands something more than the passing notice, with which he dismisses the claims of every other candidate than his own — when he says — 'I think it unnecessa-

* Junius Unmasked, preface, p. ii.

† Ibid, p. v.

ry to beat down the slight pretensions set up in favor of almost all these claimants.' *

How many and who of the other claimants this writer considers to have but 'slight pretensions,' does not distinctly appear; but we should ourselves agree to his remark so far as this, that their pretensions will now, as we believe, prove to have been unfounded, however ingeniously they may have heretofore been supported.

The arguments brought together by this writer in favor of Lord Sackville are — 1. That he was more suspected than any other person at the time when Junius appeared — 2. That he had the requisite talents and learning — 3. That he had 'those strong motives, which only can account for the letters of Junius' — 4. That the author of Junius had been a *soldier*, as Sackville had been — 5. That he had the friendships and animosities which are indicated in Junius's Letters — 6. That Junius, as 'can hardly be doubted,' was a member of the House of Commons, as was Sackville — 7. That 'Lord Sackville held the political sentiments expressed by Junius — 8. That Junius was not an Irishman, yet had lived in Ireland — 9. That he was not a lawyer, but a man of rank and independent fortune — 10. That one of the letters of Junius had upon it the words 'Pall-Mall,' near the signature, and that Lord Sackville resided in that part of London — 11. The inquiry made by that 'fool,' Swinney, of Lord Sackville, to know if he was the author of Junius, only a day or two before it was mentioned to Woodfall by Junius — 12. The deep anxiety of Junius to remain concealed — 13. The anecdote related by Cumberland,

* Junius Unmasked, pp. 9, 10.

that Lord Sackville, just before his death, mentioned 'in jest,' that he was among the suspected authors, and his lordship did not make a formal denial of the truth of that suspicion — 14. Lord Sackville's last interview with Lord Mansfield, in which he earnestly asked forgiveness, if he had ever been unjust to his great merits, or forgetful of his many favors, &c.

The greater part of the reasons adduced by this writer, in support of Lord Sackville's authorship, are alike applicable, though perhaps not to the same extent in every instance, to many other leading men of that period; and a very satisfactory answer to the most important of them is given by a correspondent of Mr Barker's; whom that gentleman characterizes as an 'intelligent friend to whom he owes many literary obligations.' That correspondent observes — 'The cause assigned [page 104 of Butler's Reminiscences] for Lord George Sackville's enmity to the King and Lord Mansfield is evidently erroneous; for his lordship's trial and disgrace on account of the battle of Minden took place in the reign of George II. His lordship's animosity, indeed, towards the Marquis of Granby might well be accounted for by what happened at Minden. But neither his late Majesty nor Lord Mansfield, it is believed, had any concern in the prosecution; besides, why should Lord George have stifled his resentment for nine or ten years? Numerous occasions had offered, long before Junius's Letters were written, for attacking the Sovereign and the Chief Justice. It appears, however, by Junius's early letters under various signatures, that his opposition to government arose from the dismissal of the Grenville administration, and the repeal of the American Stamp Act. *What evidence have we*

that Lord George Sackville was attached to the Grenvilles? Another objection to the claims of Lord George arises from his early life and habits, which were *military;* whereas Junius professed profound *constitutional* knowledge.'*

This reasoning, founded on general and comprehensive views, deserves attention; and it is not outweighed by various little circumstances, which, apparently in conflict with it, are thrown together into the opposite scale of evidence. To the arguments adduced in this discussion, we should apply the old and sound maxim — that we must be governed, not by their number, but by their weight — *ponderantur, non numerantur.*

We may add one or two further considerations to those urged by the writer just quoted. Junius was at first extremely hostile to Lord Chatham; but was afterwards reconciled to him. Now it does not appear that Lord Sackville's opinions of that distinguished man ever underwent such an entire change. This change, however, did take place in Lord *Temple's* feelings, as will appear throughout the present letters; and it exactly coincided, in time, with the open quarrel between him and Lord Chatham. We think, too, that the writer above quoted, by Mr Barker, concedes more than the facts required in respect to the actual hostility of Junius to Lord Granby. It is abundantly evident, that there was no personal animosity against him on the part of Junius; on the contrary, Junius says, he 'lamented his death,' and 'never spoke of him with resentment.'† Junius's vengeance was directed against the party which included Lord Granby's

* Barker's Letters, Pref. p. xxiv.

† Junius, Letter vii, note at the end.

friends and coadjutors, rather than against the noble lord himself.

If style and manner were not mere matters of taste, about which there is no disputing, we should further express our settled opinion, that there is no less weight in the argument founded on the supposed difference of *style*, in the Letters of Junius, and the *known* writings of Lord Sackville; for, as is observed by the Editor of Woodfall's Junius, 'if we examine into his Lordship's style, we shall meet with facts not much less hostile' to the claim. 'Of his own composition he thus speaks in a letter published shortly after his return from Germany, drawn up in justification of his conduct at the battle of Minden: "I had rather upon this occasion submit myself to all the inconveniences that may arise from the *want of style*, than borrow assistance from the pen of others, as I have no hopes of establishing my character but from the force of truth."'* And, in proof that he had not spoken 'with an undue degree of self-modesty,' the editor has subjoined a letter of his Lordship which abundantly supports that opinion.†

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 161.

† We insert this letter, as published in Woodfall's Junius at the end of the Preliminary Essay:

'*Minden, Aug.* 2, 1759.

'Dear Sir, — The orders of yesterday, you may believe, affect me very sensibly. His Serene Highness has been pleased to judge, condemn, and censure me, without hearing me, in the most cruel and unprecedented manner; as he never asked me a single question in explanation of anything he might disapprove; and as he must have formed his opinion upon the report of others, it was still harder he would not give me an opportunity of first speaking to him upon the subject; but you know, even in more trifling matters, that hard blows are some-

In further corroboration of this, it is certainly a striking fact, that Lord Sackville's defence before the court martial was, as Mr Cumberland states, written for him by Dr Shebbeare. Could the lofty spirit of Junius, we may ask, stoop to 'borrow assistance' from the pen of Dr Shebbeare?

Another circumstance, which has been often mentioned in this controversy, appears to us to have more

times unexpectedly given. If any body has a right to say that I hesitated in obeying orders, it is you. I will relate what I know of that, and then appeal to you for the truth of it.

'When you brought me orders to advance with the British cavalry, I was near the village of Halen, I think it is called, I mean that place, which the Saxons burnt. I was there advanced by M. Malhorte's order, and no further, when you came to me. Ligonier followed almost instantly; he said, the whole cavalry was to advance. I was puzzled what to do, and begged the favor of you to carry me to the Duke, that I might ask an explanation of his orders. But that no time might be lost, I sent Smith with orders to bring on the British cavalry, as they had a wood before they could advance as you directed; and I reckoned, by the time I had seen his Serene Highness, I should find them forming beyond the wood. — This proceeding of mine might possibly be wrong; but I am sure the service could not suffer, as no delay was occasioned by it. — The Duke then ordered me to leave some squadrons upon the right, which I did, and to advance the rest to support the infantry. This I declare I did, as fast as I imagined it was right in cavalry to march in line. — I once halted by Lord Granby to complete my forming the whole. Upon his advancing the left before the right I again sent to him to stop: — He said, as the Prince had ordered to advance, he thought we should move forward. — I then let him proceed at the rate he liked, and kept my right up with him as regularly as I could, till we got to the rear of the infantry and our batteries. — We both halted together, and afterwards received no order, till that which was brought by Col. Web and the Duke of Richmond, to extend in one line to

weight than some writers have been willing to allow to it; we mean the well-known and fine-edged sarcasm on the courage of Lord Sackville — 'I believe (says Junius), the best thing I can do will be to consult with my Lord George Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here; and I know he loves to be stationed *in the rear*, as well as myself' — a remark which no officer would be likely to make of himself, after he had been publicly pointed

the morass. — It was accordingly executed; and then, instead of finding the enemy's cavalry to charge, as I expected, the battle was declared to be gained, and we were told to dismount our men.

'This, I protest, is all I know of the matter, and I was never so surprised, as when I heard the Prince was dissatisfied that the cavalry did not move sooner up to the infantry. — It is not my business to ask, what the disposition originally was, or to find fault with anything. — All I insist upon is, that I obeyed the orders I received, as punctually as I was able; and if it was to do over again, I do not think I would have executed them ten minutes sooner than I did, now I know the ground, and what was expected; but, indeed, we were above an hour too late, if it was the Duke's intention to have made the cavalry pass before our infantry and artillery, and charge the enemy's line. — I cannot think that was his meaning, as all the orders ran to sustain our infantry: — and it appears, that both Lord Granby and I understood we were at our posts, by our halting, when we got to the rear of our foot.

'I hope I have stated impartially the part of this transaction that comes within your knowledge. — If I have, I must beg you would declare it, so as I may make use of it in your absence: for it is impossible to sit silent under such reproach, when I am conscious of having done the best that was in my power. — For God's sake, let me see you, before you go to England.

'I am, my dear Sir,

'Your faithful humble servant,

'George Sac[illegible]e.'

at, and formally convicted by a Court Martial, as a coward.*

In attaching so much weight to this circumstance, we are aware that we differ in some degree from a very high authority — we mean Mr Butler, who observes, that this anecdote may be thought a strong, but it evidently is not a decisive argument; particularly if we suppose, what certainly is not impossible, that Lord George had upon this subject all the pride of conscious innocence.' † This learned writer adds — 'it must also be observed, that it is by conjecture only that the jeu d'esprit, in which this expression is found, is imputed to Junius.'

In reply to these remarks of this learned author, we think it may be fairly urged, that although a soldier who felt the consciousness of innocence, might, if necessary in a serious discussion, allude to a circumstance which all his readers would look upon as disgraceful, yet it would not be natural for him to make it the subject of a jest in any case. And, as to the authenticity of the anecdote, it is to be observed, that Mr Woodfall has published it upon the same authority with the *Miscellaneous* and other Letters, included in his edition of Junius; and if we repudiate the one, we cannot acknowledge the other.‡

Mr Butler, however, adds a reflection of a more general nature, which deserves attention — 'To the Reminiscent,' says he, 'it appears more difficult to reconcile Lord George's authorship of Junius with that

* Smollett's History of England, vol. v, p. 275, chap. 13, section [illegible] and Trial of Lord George Sackville.

† [illegible]r's Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 91.

‡ Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 37, note.

writer's advances to Mr Wilkes, or his intromission of himself into city politics, or the importance which he appears to have attached to them. The high aristocracy of the Whigs was, at that time, just beginning to thaw; but the Reminiscent recollects, that Lord George was considered to be eminently aristocratic; it is difficult to think he would have run, as Junius did, into the city, or considered it to be of the importance which Junius thought it, that one man or another should be the lord mayor.' *

As a circumstance of some weight, though certainly not decisive, it may be further added, that Lord George Sackville did, by implication, substantially deny the authorship; observing to a friend — 'I should be proud to be capable of writing as Junius has done; but there are many passages in his letters I should have been sorry to have written.' † It is true, as Dr Good observes, that such a declaration is too general 'to be in any way conclusive.' But it may be replied, that it is corroborated in some degree by the anecdote before alluded to, which is related of Lord Sackville [Germain], by Mr Cumberland, who was his secretary, and who says — 'I never heard, that my friend, Lord George Germain, was amongst the supposed authors, till, *by way of jest*, he told me so not many days before his death. I did not want him to disavow it, for there could be no occasion to disprove an absolute impossibility. The man who wrote it had a savage heart; for some of his attacks are execrable; he was a hypocrite, for he disavows private motives, and makes pretensions to a patriotic spirit.'

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 91.

† Woodfall's Junius, vol. i, p. 161, citing Chalmer's Appendix, p. 7.

The conclusion of our American advocate of Lord Sackville's claims, that Junius had been a soldier, cannot be drawn with certainty from his occasional use of military phrases and illustrations. This argument, it will be perceived, belongs to the class of those which are said by logicians to prove too much. An industrious correspondent of Mr Barker's has made a collection of the chief images and illustrations in the Letters of Junius, from which statement, however singular it may appear, we should have stronger reason for inferring that Junius had been a physician than a soldier. He informs us, that of those images and illustrations there are, from the *military* art, *seven;* from the *medical* science, *twelve;* from the terms of commerce, *six*, &c.

After a careful, and, we believe, an impartial review of all the circumstances urged in support of the claim of Lord Sackville, some of which will be more particularly adverted to hereafter, we have found it impossible to bring our mind to the conclusion, that he was the author of Junius's Letters; and we have felt no little surprise, that the editor of Woodfall's Junius should attach so much weight to the facts urged in support of the claim, as to consider the evidence 'to be somewhat indecisive even to the present hour [1814].'*

16. *John Horne Tooke*, known in the Correspondence of Junius, as the Rev. John Horne. This extraordinary man was named many years ago among the suspected authors of Junius's Letters;† and this opinion has been lately again brought forward and supported with ability in an elaborate volume of more than

* Preliminary Essay, vol. i, p. 160.

† See the Monthly Review, for 1789, vol. lxxxi, p. 465, and other English periodicals, &c.

four hundred pages, octavo, published at New York, in July, 1829, under the title of 'The Posthumous Works of Junius,' and dedicated by the author, 'J. F.' (who, in conformity with the plan of his volume, styles himself 'The Compiler') to Sir Francis Burdett.

The author of that volume observes — 'In regard to the mysterious and long-sought author of Junius, the compiler of this work, like many before him, is confident that he has fixed upon the right man.' * We are, however, obliged to say, that after an attentive consideration of his arguments, we find several difficulties which do not admit of solution upon this hypothesis. But it is not our intention here to go into a critical examination of it; as the grounds of argument against it are for the most part, such as would be an anticipation of much that is contained in the following letters in relation to the claims of Lord Temple. A few general remarks, however, may be properly submitted to the reader in this place.

1. It seems to us impossible, that an individual situated both politically and personally, as Mr Tooke was, at that period, could have had the means of knowing so promptly and accurately, as Junius did, the intended measures of the British cabinet, from time to time. 2. We do not perceive any adequate cause assigned, why the opinions and feelings of Mr Tooke in regard to Lord Chatham should have undergone that entire change which those of Junius did. 3. The declaration of the present Lord Grenville, quoted by the author, p. 421, that 'he (Junius) is not any of the persons suspected,' is at variance with the supposition of Mr Tooke's authorship; for Mr Tooke had been too

* Preface, p. i.

often spoken of, as the writer of Junius, to have been overlooked by Lord Grenville on the occasion when his remark was made. 4. The age of Mr Tooke, as stated by the 'Posthumous Works,' is irreconcilable with the the supposition; for, it is assumed, and upon solid grounds, by all the writers on this question, that Junius must have been a man of fifty years old at least, at the date of his first letter, January 21, 1769; which would have made him *ninetythree* years of age in 1812, the time of Mr Tooke's death; but Mr Tooke was only in his *seventyseventh* year when he died.

If we go back to the still earlier period when Junius wrote under other signatures, it will be found that Mr Tooke was only thirtyone years old; an age, at which his studies and habits of life were wholly inconsistent with the attainment of that extensive and solid political knowledge and experience, which Junius indisputably possessed. 5. This hypothesis also renders it necessary, that the angry letters which passed between Junius and Mr Tooke, and the sarcasms thrown out by the former against the latter, on various occasions, were all a mere stratagem, to mislead the public in respect to the author. This supposition, we confess, appears to us violent, and not in keeping with the rest of the transaction. It has, we know, been also resorted to, by writers, who adopt the hypothesis of Lord Chatham's authorship; and, it is obviously impossible to maintain such an hypothesis in either of these cases, without making that assumption. Now, after making all just allowances for the petty stratagems which would be natural in secret warfare, we confess, that we cannot treat the severe collisions between Junius and those two able adversaries, as mere artifices, played off before the public, the better to conceal the authors.

Independently of the circumstances in which Lord Chatham and Mr Tooke were placed, we have ever thought, from the letters alone, that the attacks of Junius upon those two conspicuous characters, resembled more the unconcealed hostility of a real enemy than war in disguise.

This advocate of Mr Tooke's claim has a strong suspicion, that Dr Good, and Mr G. Woodfall (son of the original publisher), were in possesion of the name of the author; in which he may very possibly be right; we have sometimes entertained the same suspicion. But when this respectable writer goes so far as to infer, first, that Woodfall's use of the term '*Political Works*' of Junius, evidently implies, that he had written other works, and then in the next place, that those other works were, no doubt, the 'Epea Pteroenta' of Tooke, we are not able to follow him to his conclusion.* That Mr Tooke *knew* who Junius was, as he is said to have stated to Dr Graham and Mr Stephens, and that he considered Junius to be his '*best friend*,' may be true.† But, with our author, we hesitate to infer from this 'equivocal' declaration, that Mr Tooke meant himself by that expression.

17. *Walpole*, Horace. This celebrated man has been considered by some writers to have claims to the authorship of Junius. But they have never been urged in such a manner, as to require particular notice on the present occasion. Mr George Coventry, in a letter to Mr Barker, dated March 11, 1827, makes the following statement on the subject: 'As Woodfall, in his last edition, does not mention Horace Walpole, and at

* The Posthumous Works of Junius, p. 17, 18.
† Ibid, 290.

the time my manuscript was going to press, an able Essay arrived from Sir C. Grey in India, in favor of Walpole's claims, I considered myself bound to refute them, which I have satisfactorily done. This so convinced the Marquis of Lansdowne and others who had charge of the MS., that they abandoned the publication.'

18. *Wilkes*, John. This extraordinary individual was very early suspected of having written the Letters of Junius. We have observed that suspicions of this kind were noticed in English journals, as long ago as the year 1774,* and doubtless existed before that time. But, besides the evidence of circumstances to the contrary, Mr Butler, who was on the most intimate terms with him, makes the following statement: 'Far from giving the least hint that he [Wilkes] was the author of Junius's Letters, he always explicitly disclaimed it, and treated it as a ridiculous supposition. No one, acquainted with his style, can suspect for a moment, that he was the author of them; the merit of his style was simplicity; he had both gaiety and strength, but to the rancorous sarcasm, the lofty contempt with which Junius's Letters abound, no one was a greater stranger than Mr Wilkes. To this may be added, the very slighting manner in which Junius expresses himself of Mr Wilkes. I am willing to admit, that if Mr Wilkes had written Junius's Letters, he would have treated Mr Wilkes uncivilly for the sake of disguising himself. But sneer, and particularly that kind of sneer, which Mr Wilkes occasionally receives from Junius, you may be assured Mr Wilkes would never

* See Monthly Review, vol. xlii, p. 65.

have used in speaking of himself.' Mr Butler further states, that his conversations with Mr Wilkes on this subject took place between the years 1776 and 1784; and that one of their amusements was an attempt to discover the author of Junius's Letters. With this view, he observes, 'they considered them with great attention, examined many of the originals, collected and sifted all the anecdotes which they could learn, and weighed all the opinions and conjectures which they could hear of.'*

He adds, that Mr Wilkes received many letters from Junius, which were never published; one in particular on the subject of improving the representation of the people. *Their opinions were different.* I remember Junius's letter began by saying — he was 'treated as a pagan idol, with much incense, but with no attention to his oracles.'

Dr Good also is clearly of opinion that Mr Wilkes was not Junius; which, he says, must be apparent to every one who will merely give a glance at either the public or private letters. Wilkes could not have abused himself in the manner he is occasionally abused in the former; nor would he have said in the latter (since there was no necessity for his so saying) — 'I have been out of town for three weeks' — at a time when he was closely confined in the King's Bench. The private letter here alluded to is dated Nov. 8, 1769; Wilkes entered the King's Bench prison April 27, 1768, and was liberated April 18, 1770.'†

Mr Wilkes and Mr Butler thought Junius's 'high wrought panegyric of Lord Chatham was ironical.' But

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, pp. 67, 68, American edition.

† Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, vol. i, p. 133.

upon the hypothesis maintained in the following letters — that Lord Temple was Junius — this is satisfactorily and naturally accounted for, by the history of the difference and subsequent reconciliation between that noble lord and Lord Chatham, who was his brother-in-law.

With a view to this hypothesis, also, the relation in which Lord Temple and Mr Wilkes stood to each other demands a brief consideration.

It is observed in the passage above quoted from Dr Good, that Wilkes could not have abused himself in the manner he is occasionally abused by Junius; and Mr Butler, as we have seen, though he admits that Wilkes, Junius, might have treated himself uncivilly in order to keep up the disguise, yet thinks, that he would not have used the peculiar sneer at himself which he receives from Junius. Mr G. Coventry also, in a letter of March 11, 1827, quoted by Mr Barker, assumes it to be a fact 'well known, that no two persons could live on more hostile terms than Mr Wilkes and Lord Temple.' *

This last statement, we confess, has much surprised us. That Lord Temple might have some objection to appearing constantly before the public as the particular friend of Mr Wilkes, through the whole of his extraordinary career, we can conceive. But if the statement just quoted means, that they were not, generally speaking, on terms of friendly intimacy, it is contradicted by their whole private history. Mr Wilkes was a near neighbor of Lord Temple, in the country, and they appear to have had a good deal of intercourse with each other. Mr Wilkes constantly speaks of Lord Temple as his friend; and it is familiar to every reader of English history, that Lord Temple acted the part of a firm friend towards him on various occasions; as, particular-

* Barker's Letters, p. 251.

ly, in the case of Wilkes's arrest and commitment to the Tower for publishing the celebrated Number Forty Five of the North Briton. Immediately upon his commitment, Lord Temple called to see him, but was refused admittance. Lord Temple himself went to the Court of Common Pleas, in order to obtain the writ of habeas corpus, under which Wilkes was finally discharged — and, when he was directed to dismiss Mr Wilkes from his command as colonel of the militia of Buckinghamshire, he expressed so much interest for him, in the letter of dismissal, that he was himself immediately removed from his office of Lord Lieutenant of the county. It was with the aid of Lord Temple's talents and money also, that Mr Wilkes defended himself against all the power and influence of the members of the administration, and was enabled to institute and successfully terminate the prosecutious against the Secretaries of State and the under officers of government. Now, after making all just allowances for motives of a public nature, we cannot doubt that feelings of personal regard also entered into the motives of Lord Temple.

The same feelings towards Mr Wilkes are expressed by Junius. When about publishing an edition of his Letters, he requests Woodfall, in a manner which indicates that he had some friendly claims on Mr Wilkes, to 'shew the Dedication and Preface to Mr Wilkes;' and adds, 'if he has any *material* objection, let me know.' * And in a letter to Wilkes, dated September 7, 1771, he says, with emphasis, and probably in allusion to the transactions abovementioned as well as others — 'I have served Mr Wilkes, and am still capable of serving him.' †

* Private Letter to Woodfall, No. 40.

† Private Letters, No. 66, near the close.

On the subject of Wilkes's election, we subjoin a curious anecdote, for which we are indebted to an obliging friend, and which shews the strong interest taken in his success by Lord Temple.

'The expulsion of John Wilkes from the House of Commons, in 1769, was brought forward purely to gratify the resentment of the interior cabinet against that gentleman. John Wilkes had no virtues that entitled him to the esteem of his country, but he was a persecuted man. The generous character of Englishmen led them to partake with a man persecuted by power; he became popular because the court had oppressed him. It may not be improper to mention here, a little anecdote, which I received from the late Mr Sergeant Glynn, the confidential friend and law adviser of John Wilkes. Earl Temple had furnished Mr Wilkes with a qualification to enable him to stand for Middlesex; but Mr Wilkes was at that time under a sentence of outlawry for a misdemeanor, viz. for a libel published in the North Briton, No. 45. It was a matter of uncertainty whether this judgment of outlawry could be reversed by a writ of error; and, if the judgment of outlawry were not reversed, the freehold estate of £600 a year, which Earl Temple had granted to Mr Wilkes for his life, would have been forfeited. Earl Temple would not expose himself to this risk; it was therefore arranged, that if Mr Wilkes should be called on at the poll, to produce his qualification, he should immediately decline the poll; but Mr Wilkes was not called on. I mention this anecdote, to show, how often important events depend on little circumstances. If Mr Wilkes had not been elected for Middlesex, his expulsion, and all the consequent questions, could never

have taken place. But the most important consequence resulting from this persecution was, that it appeared that there was no measure so humilitating to those who supported it, but that a majority of the House of Commons might be brought to vote for it. It was seen that this House of Commons, elected under the auspices of the Duke of Grafton, in 1768, was perfectly well suited to adopt every measure proposed by the interior Cabinet.' *

We have dwelt the longer upon the relation subsisting between Lord Temple and Mr Wilkes, because a correct view of it, is of some importance in respect to the question discussed in the following Letters, and because we think erroneous opinions have been adopted by some writers on this subject. The personal character of Mr Wilkes, with all its faults — which certainly cast a shade over his life — was such as brought him into the immediate society of the distinguished men, whose eminent talents and influence made them the leaders of the liberal or whig party of that period. He was himself a man of no ordinary talents. Mr Butler who knew him intimately, characterises him, possibly with some degree of partiality, as 'a delightful and instructive companion, but too often offensive by his freedom of speech when religion or the sex was mentioned.' He adds, that his acquaintance with Mr Wilkes 'did not begin till his political turmoils were at an end. In his manners and habits he was an elegant epicurean, yet it was evident to all his intimates, that he feared

'Manes aliquos et subterranea regna. *Juvenal.*

* Recollections and Reflections on Personal and Political Affairs during the Reign of George III. By John Nichols, Esq. p. 30, American Edition, 1822.

In his real politics he was an aristocrat, and would much rather have been a favored courtier at Versailles than the most commanding orator in St Stephen's chapel. His distresses threw him into politics; he assumed the character of a staunch Whig; and all must admit his consistency Mr Wilkes abounded in anecdote; wit was so constantly at his command, that wagers have been gained, that from the time he quitted his home near Story's Gate, till he reached Guildhall, no one would address him, who would leave him without a smile or a hearty laugh. Nothwithstanding their feuds, Lord Sandwich and he were partial to each other. On one occasion, the Reminiscent not having been punctual to an engagement which Lord Sandwich had made for him, it was (not good-naturedly) mentioned to his lordship, that the delinquent had dined with Mr Wilkes. 'Well then,' said Lord Sandwich, 'Wilkes has so often made me break appointments with others, that it is but fair he should once make a person break his appointment with me.' *

Mr Wilkes's parliamentary patron was Lord Temple, by whose influence he was chosen representative for Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire; and he was in hopes, through the interest of his patron, to have obtained some place under government, which his embarrassed circumstances rendered highly desirable. But he was always disappointed in this, and used to ascribe his failure to Lord Bute. He connected himself as a political writer with Lord Temple, in 1762, defending him and Mr Pitt, and attacking the ministry. In the same year he commenced the famous periodical work called the North Briton, in which he was assisted by Lord Tem-

* Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, p. 63–66, Amer. edition.

ple and Charles Churchill. This journal was established in order to counteract *The Briton*, which Smollet conducted in defence of Lord Bute's administration; and the North Briton, it is supposed, contributed to drive Lord Bute to a resignation in 1763. The consequences of his prosecution for publishing the 45th No. of that work are well known, and have been already mentioned. The result was a complete triumph on the part of Wilkes against the whole strength of the government; by which he was emboldened, in defiance of the advice of his friends, to set up a press in his own house, and to reprint the North Briton. On a second persecution, he withdrew to France, and incurred the penalty of outlawry; but this outlawry was afterwards reversed, as illegal. He was immediately elected member for Middlesex; and was again punished by fine and imprisonment for publishing two libels. In 1769, he was expelled from the House of Commons: he was immediately re-elected, but declared incapable of a seat during that parliament. He was now, as his biographers relate, the martyr of liberty, and large sums of money were collected to pay his debts. He was again re-elected, and again refused a seat; Colonel Luttrell, the Court candidate, whose votes were but about the fourth part of Mr Wilkes's, being declared to be elected. But on the accession of the Rockingham administration, he prevailed in a motion for rescinding the decision of the House of Commons, which gave Luttrel his seat. This admission of Luttrell as a member, to the exclusion of Wilkes, caused loud complaints through the country, and only aided the popularity of the latter. He was successively chosen an alderman of London, sheriff of London and Middlesex, and lord

mayor of London ; and finally in 1776, was re-elected member of parliament for Middlesex, and permitted to take his seat without opposition. At length, after having passed the active years of his life in the most stormy scenes of a most tumultuous period of British politics, and having been the means — whatever may have been his motives — of securing some permanent advantages to the cause of public and private liberty, his latter years passed off quietly and without much notice ; and, to use his own expression, of unrivalled felicity, he was ' an extinguished volcano.'

These views of Mr Wilkes's character and his connexion with Lord Temple, lead us to add a few observations in this place, more immediately relating to the latter ; whose claims to the authorship of Junius's Letters are the subject of the present work. As we do not wish to anticipate anything which the reader will find in the following pages, our remarks will be confined, as far as possible, to certain points which require additional explanation.

The character and talents of Lord Temple have probably been less conspicuous in the common histories which we have of English affairs — and most readers, even those who read for useful instruction, content themselves with those meagre and unsatisfactory works — in consequence of his having been called upon to act in public jointly with his brother-in-law, Mr Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, whose overwhelming talents threw all his friends as well as adversaries into the shade. That Lord Temple, however, was one of those, whose intellectual endowments entitle them to the rank of leading men, is undeniable. If the natural force of his talents was resisted and prevented from

being felt in the public councils, it was owing to the influence of those secret causes, against which mere intellectual power cannot of itself prevail — those causes, to which even the lofty mind of Lord Chatham was compelled to yield. Of Lord Temple's ability, however, there is the fullest evidence, both in the express declarations of Lord Chatham himself, and in the public measures in which Lord Temple's opinions had an influence. We believe it will be found, as some of his friends have affirmed, that no small part of the fame which Lord Chatham obtained by his foreign wars, was owing to the able plans and counsels of Lord Temple, then in the War Department. Lord Chatham accordingly placed the greatest reliance upon him; and when the open difference took place between them, in the year 1766 — which is particularly mentioned in the first part of the present Letters — Lord Chatham never ceased to lament the want of a friend, whom he afterwards publicly pronounced to be one of the greatest men that England had produced. He appears, however, to have had some traits of character, which too frequently prevent superior talents from having their full influence, both in public and private life. He is described by one of the biographers of Lord Chatham, as 'the blunt, the honest and artless Earl Temple;'* and another writer, Mr Almon, who was a confidential friend of his, says of him — 'the natural disposition of this noble Lord was the most amiable that can be conceived, to his friends; but when offended, his disapprobation was warm and conspicuous; his language flowed spon-

* The History of the Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Dublin, 1783.

taneously from his feelings; his heart and voice always corresponded.'*

For these reasons, as well as his being an efficient member of the Pitt or whig party, Lord Temple was a man who would not be in much request with the persons who composed the court party of his day. And even before the close of George the Second's reign, it appears by that curious and instructive book, the Diary of George Bubb Dodington (Lord Melcombe), that a settled plan was adopted for getting rid of him. As this work is not very common, we give a few extracts from it.

'1749, Oct. 15 — At Leicester House. The Grenvilles presented for the title of *Temple*.

'1752, Nov. 27 — King's Birth Day kept. Lord Hillsborough began a conversation with me. He thought there must be some disturbance arise from the Pitt party; that, though they were so well pleased, they were still uneasy; that they neither liked others nor were liked by them. I said I could not conceive that they would stir. He said, yes; for that Pitt's passion was ambition, not avarice — that he was at a full stop, as things were, and could have no hopes of going farther. He was once popular; and, if he could again make a disturbance, and get the country on his side, he then might have hopes; now, on the present system, he could have none. I replied, I thought they could not part with what they had, &c. &c. He said they had the *Temple pocket* — that, to his knowledge, they were all as one and would stand or fall with Pitt as their head. Lord Hillsborough wondered they did not break out; he daily expected it.

* Almon's Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, vol. ii. p. 29.

'1755, Nov. 20 — Messrs Pitt, Legge, and George Grenville received letters of dismission, and James Grenville resigned the Board of Trade.

'1757, Feb. 18 — A motion for £200,000, for an army of observation in Germany, agreed to without debate or division. Mr Tucker had agreed with *Mr George Grenville* to be paymaster of the Marines, and for George Grenville to be chosen in his place. The king sent to Fox, to know *if he could prevent it*, and if he thought I would interpose: Mr Fox said, he supposed, his Majesty commanded me, I would. The king ordered Fox to speak to me — he did, and I stopt it. *This is the first step towards turning out Lord Temple.*

'1757, March 7 — The Duke of Newcastle, who had resigned, would not move; the king grew impatient to get rid of the ministry which he had imposed upon himself, and threw himself upon Fox to form a new administration. *We agreed to begin with dismissing Lord Temple;* I proposed Lord Hallifax for the Admiralty, the king consented to it, and I was to negotiate the affair with him.'*

We cannot doubt, therefore, that Lord Temple had the talents, as he certainly had the motives, for writing Junius; all which will be more fully shown in the present work. It is true, that both intellectual power and motives also may be found in others; as, for example in Lord Chatham. Yet independently of the numerous facts wholly inconsistent with his being the author

* Diary of the late George Bubb Dodington, Baron of Melcombe Regis, from March 8, 1749 to February 6, 1761 — 3d edit. London, 1785. Mr Butler, in his Reminiscences, characterises this record of political corruption as — 'the lamentable revelations' of Lord Melcombe.

of Junius, there is some ground for the discrimination which is made between Junius and Lord Chatham, though expressed perhaps too strongly, in the following remarks:

'In generous self-confidence, and in effusions of animated sentiment, the great Earl Chatham was certainly not unequal to Junius. But he wanted the extensive and profound knowledge of the author of these Letters; and he had even less skill to unite the arts of insinuation with those of overbearing confidence and energy. Chatham does not appear to have usually reasoned well in his speeches. Much of his eloquence was in his elocution; much of it, in his intrepidity and disinterestedness, oratorical and political.'*

'The claims of a particular individual,' says another writer on this question, 'can be morally maintained only by the circumstance, that they are peculiar to that particular individual, inapplicable to all other claimants, and yet having an apparent connexion with Junius.' These conditions, to the extent in which they should be taken, will, as we think, be found to be fulfilled in the hypothesis adopted in the following Letters — that Lord Temple was Junius.

The coincidences between different occurrences in the life of Lord Temple, and the tone and course adopted by Junius at different periods, as pointed out in the present work, are certainly very remarkable. When, for example, Lord Chatham and Lord Temple were openly at variance, in consequence of the attempt made by the former to exclude the latter from any participation in forming a ministry (in the year 1766), Junius attacked Lord Chatham with as much severity as he

* Heron's Junius, vol. i, page 51.

did any individual who fell under his displeasure. This temper continued till the autumn of 1768, when a reconciliation took place between them; immediately upon which, the tone of that writer began to change towards Lord Chatham, and at last rose to the highest strain of eulogy, in the memorable passage which is to be found in his 54th Letter, and is copied into the present volume.*

Another remarkable coincidence in the opinions of Junius and Lord Temple is, that both uniformly agreed in their politics, and on certain fundamental measures of domestic and foreign policy, with the well known English statesman, Mr George Grenville, the brother of the latter; as is justly observed by a writer before quoted;† while, on the contrary Lord Chatham differed from them all in regard to some essential measures of government.‡ Indeed the uniform attachment of Ju-

* See p. 187. Lord Chatham afterwards made him one of the executors of his will.

† Page xiii, ante.

‡ Among these measures was the American Stamp Act, which has generally been ascribed to Mr Grenville. But the following statement from Almon's Anecdotes, shows the uncertainty upon which received historical facts often rest. 'It was in this session (1765) of Mr Grenville's Administration, that the American Stamp Act was passed; which Mr Grenville afterwards defended with the warmest zeal and resolution; yet, if we may believe Mr Jenkinson, now Lord Liverpool, who, in such a case may safely be taken for the best authority, this measure *was not Mr Grenville's*. See Mr Jenkinson's speech in the House of Commons, on the 15th May, 1777. His Lordship has not yet informed the nation, to whom this measure ought to have been ascribed; though he has explicitly acquitted Mr Grenville of it.' P. 410, note.

nius to Mr Grenville is one of the most remarkable circumstances in his letters.*

The familiarity of Junius with the affairs of the War Department, in all its details, has long been an obstacle, which the advocates of almost every candidate for the authorship have found it impossible to overcome; and, this circumstance alone has, perhaps, more than any other, given the greater plausibility to the claims of Sir Philip Francis, who was, for a considerable time, an under officer in that department. But, when we know, as is fully explained in the following letters, that Lord Temple was a principal in that department, and was also for a time a lord of the Admiralty, this difficulty is satisfactorily explained. Junius avails himself of this familiarity with the War Department, particularly in his correspondence with Sir William Draper, and employs it with great effect to the entire discomfiture, and as we should think, extreme mortification of his adversary. But we find afterwards that Sir William forgave him; and the opinion of Sir William is certainly a strong testimonial in favor of the honesty of the motives of Junius.

* On this point the Author of the present work adds one further remark, in addition to what is stated by him, respecting Junius's declaration that *he did not personally know Mr Grenville*:

'On the subject of Junius's not being personally known to Mr Grenville, I would add one more remark to show, that if the writer is Lord Temple, that declaration is of no weight against the supposition. It is this; in the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, No. 100, signed Anti-Fox, he makes a remark as to his being *unknown to himself*, which is stronger than that respecting his being unknown to Mr Grenville.——"I know nothing of Junius, but I see plainly that he has designedly spared Lord Holland and his family," &c. The black boy spoken of by Junius, in this Letter, is Charles James Fox.'

It appears in the following anecdote: 'Some months after the Letters of Junius were published collectively,' says Mr Campbell, 'Boyd met Sir W. Draper at the Tennis Court, where their acquaintance was originally formed in the year 1769, and where, being both great tennis players, they used often to meet. The conversation turning upon *Junius*, Sir William observed, that "though Junius had treated him with extreme severity, he now looked upon him as *a very honest fellow;* that he freely forgave him for the bitterness of his censures, and that there was no man with whom he would more gladly drink a bottle of old Burgundy." '*

We now pass on to some other considerations, connected with the investigation made in the following work.

Among other things, we would, for a moment, advert to the style of Junius, and its resemblance to the specimens of other publications, which there is no reason to doubt were, either in whole or in part, the productions of Lord Temple.

The basis of the argument on this head, with the author of the present work, is a remarkable pamphlet published in 1766, which contains a minute and curious account of the quarrel between Lord Temple and Lord Chatham. In calling this pamphlet Lord Temple's, however, the author of these Letters would not be understood as affirming, that every word of it was from his pen; on the contrary, it contains many laudatory expressions, which he never would have applied to himself. It is sufficient for the purpose, that

* Campbell's Life of Hugh Boyd, p. 185, as cited in Woodfall's Junius, note to Lett. vii.

the substance of it was furnished by Lord Temple, as Almon informs us; who also states, that it was written by Mr Humphrey Cotes, assisted by another person;* but who that other person was, and why he is not named, Mr Almon does not inform us. There can be no doubt, as the writer of these Letters supposes, that it was Lord Temple himself.

The reader will find (p. 198), several parallel passages from this pamphlet and from Junius, which perhaps will be thought more strikingly similar in tone and manner of thinking, than even in language. To those examples, we add here a few others.

The word *dictation*, which in the time of Junius was not in use, and probably was not to be found in any other English writer, in the sense of *prescribing* or *requiring*, occurs in his letters, and also in the Pamphlet just mentioned.† 'An affectation of prostrate humility in the closet, but a lordly *dictation* of terms to the people.' *Junius's Miscellaneous Letters*, No. 1, April 28, 1767, cited p. 33 of the present work. 'If Mr Pitt insisted upon a superior *dictation*, &c.' *Enquiry*, see p. 251, post. In the Letters of Junius and in the *Enquiry*, the word *dictator* also, though in common use among English writers, occurs at about the same period, with a frequency and in a manner which indicate the habitual action of one mind.

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. ii, p. 23, note.

† For an account of this extraordinary publication, entitled 'An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honorable Commoner,' see the following Letters, pp. 6, 8, 9, 212, &c. The whole pamphlet, except a few pages, makes the first article of the *Appendix* to the present volume.

Both Junius and Lord Temple make great use of the word *disdain* and its derivatives; 'The principal nobility who might *disdain* to submit to the upstart insolence of a *dictator*,' &c. *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. 1, cited p. 36, post. — 'Who with a magnanimity almost peculiar to himself *disdained* to wear the chains, or put on the livery of such an incompetent statesman,' &c. *Enquiry*, p. 242, post. — 'By an integrity that is now, and to the latest ages will be admired, in disdaining to put on the livery of the Favorite, or that of his *Vice-Roy*, the new made peer' [Chatham]. *Enquiry*, p. 257, post. 'He [the Duke of Grafton] then accepted of the Treasury upon terms, which Lord Temple had *disdained*.' *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. 48, Oct. 19, 1768. — 'They *disdained* to set an example of deceit to the public' &c. *Enquiry*, p. 261, post.

These writers also appear to have had a partiality for the verb *to thunder*. Two instances are noticed in the present work, p. 198, one from Junius's Miscellaneous Letters, No. 47, and one from the *Enquiry*, p. 240, post. Another example is the following: 'Instead of the dignity of *thundering* out secrets of state from the gallery, we see the first Lord of the Admiralty skulking into the House just before a division,' &c. *Junius's Letters*, vol. 2, p. 346, *American Edition*.

One example is given, p. 198, post; of this expression, used by the two writers — 'to *widen* and strengthen the bottom of his administration. Another, of similar import and nearly the same in words, may be here added: 'His [Lord Temple's] wish was, to retrieve the honor of the nation by an administration formed upon a *broad bottom*,' &c. *Enquiry*, p. 257, *post*.

At p. 198, post, also is given a contemptuous description of the ministry, from Junius (under the name of

Atticus) and from the *Enquiry* — 'A ministry whose names were almost *unknown* till they *appeared in the Gazette.*' *Enquiry*, p. 253, post. An expression closely resembling this will be found in one of the Miscellaneous Letters, published shortly after *The Enquiry:* 'We *know* as little of the services they [the Ministers] have performed since it became their lot to *appear in the Gazette*, as we did of their persons or characters before.' *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. 3, signed *Anti-Sejanus, Jr.*

We could make some additions to these parallel passages, if it were necessary; but, so far as particular expressions of the kind here given will serve to identify a writer, we think the instances produced are sufficient; more especially, when we consider that some of them were rather uncommon, that they were used at about the same period of time in the different publications in question, and generally speaking, in relation to the same topics of discussion.

An ingenious writer, before quoted, has with many others supposed, that the author of Junius must have been so conversant with either Ireland or Scotland, as, by force of habit, to have used some words in a peculiar manner, and differently from the English; he gives, as one example, the verb *to mean,* employed by Junius thus: 'They who object to detached parts of Junius' letter, either do not *mean him fairly*, or have not considered,' &c.—'I *meant* the cause and the public; both are given up.'—'You are satisfied that I mean you well,' &c.* This is not a common idiom at the present day; but Mr Wilkes, who certainly wrote good English, makes use of the same expression — 'I am

* Junius Unmasked, p. 11.

satisfied that Junius now *means me well*,' &c.* Other unusual phrases and words have been urged on this point, and even to prove that Junius must have been an Irishman by birth, or at least educated in Ireland. But this opinion is ably combated by Dr Good, in the *Preliminary Essay* to Woodfall's edition of the Letters. Perhaps greater weight was originally given to this suggestion than it deserved, because it was at a very early period declared by the party writers of the day, and probably for mere party purposes, that Junius was the production of Edmund Burke. If Junius was not an author by profession — as the difference of *finish* in his style at different periods, would seem to indicate — he might occasionally make slight deviations from the current idiom or established words used by the community of authors and critics of his day, which would naturally attract observation.† A difference in his style 'after two years' practice,' was observed many years ago, when only the Letters under the signature of Junius had been published.‡ But the difference between those and the *Miscellaneous* Letters — which go back two or three years farther — is, in our judgment, more palpable. We would here be understood to speak of mere finishing or polish of style; for in all his writings, the earlier and the later, though not in all alike, we find the same vehemence and intensity — the same

* Woodfall's Junius, Correspondence of Wilkes and Junius, Lett. 5, vol. i, p. 302.

† In his Miscellaneous Letters, No. 96, for instance, he says of Mr Wedderburne — 'his profession sets his principles *at* auction,' which, though it may be good English, was not the current language of business.

‡ Monthly Review, vol. lxxi, p. 368.

'thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,' which have given unfading celebrity to his composition.

The able and discriminating writer in the Edinburgh Review, whom we have before quoted, passes the following judgment on the style of Junius's Letters — that they 'must be allowed to be finished models, though not of the purest and highest sort of composition.'* Numerous particular criticisms on his style, and made generally with a more than common soundness of judgment, but bordering on severeness of taste, and perhaps sometimes hypercritical, are interspersed throughout the notes of the valuable edition of Junius, which was published at London in 1801, under the name of '*Robert Heron, Esq.*,' and reprinted at Philadelphia, in 1804. One of the general remarks of this Editor deserves attention; — that the occasional use of such words, for example, as *wherein*, and some others which occur only 'in our elder classical works, and in books of law,' indicate that 'the reading of Junius' lay chiefly in such works.† In another place, the first paragraph of the 12th Letter, he justly condemns in the concluding sentence of that passage, 'two puns, of which one cannot approve, as consistent with delicate correctness of composition; but which nevertheless produce, as we here find them, no unhappy effect, and which might serve to excite the horse-laugh of the vulgar part of Junius' readers.'‡ Another observation of this commentator, who appears to have formed his opinions according to the severest canons of taste, and is apparently of the older school, occurs in a note on the

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xliv, p. 1; for June, 1826.

† Heron's Junius, vol. i, p. 86, note.

‡ Ibid, p. 126, note.

first Letter, where he criticises the use of the word *finances* in Junius, as a term introduced from the French into the English language 'without necessity, among numberless other barbarisms *of office*.' But he at the same time observes, that this term 'seems however, to be at last legitimated.' Yet those who cultivate delicate propriety of style, would do well to be sparing in the use of it.'*

* Ibid, p. 28. We have been at a loss to know the origin of this valuable edition of Junius, which passes under the name of 'Robert Heron.' The circumstance which first excited our attention was, that we could find no account of it in the English Reviews; and a friend, who has by our request made a more particular search, has been equally unsuccessful. In the journals of literature and bibliographies, we find, under the name of *Robert Heron*, a well known writer in other departments of knowledge, an account of numerous original works and editions of authors, but no mention of an edition of Junius by any editor of that name. A friend particularly conversant with British literary history has mentioned to us the fact, that Mr John Pinkerton published two works under the name of *Robert Heron;* and this circumstance is mentioned in *Watts' Bibliotheca Britannica;* but neither of these was Junius. The *Notes* of Heron, whoever he was, contain a fund of accurate and minute historical information; and this is often given in a tone and manner indicating a familiarity with public measures and their causes, and the motives to them, which would seem to be derived either from personal observation, or from intercourse with the actors in them. Some circumstances also would seem to afford ground for supposing, that this editor knew more about the author of Junius, than he communicates. Was it, for instance, by an accident, that he placed the portrait of Lord Temple as a frontispiece to his edition, and yet (as Woodfall also did in his edition), left out his name from the indexes to each of his volumes; while, at the same time, he frequently speaks of him in his Notes, and generally in terms of commendation? The name of *Grenville* is also omitted in his indexes. The style of the Notes is finished with care, and is

The celebrated critique upon Junius by Dr Johnson — who however wrote as a partizan, matched against Junius by the ministry — although it was drawn up under the restraints of strong political prejudices, and in qualified and cautious language, must, so far as respects the ability and style of his adversary, be considered as strong testimony of the critic himself, and as indicating also the judgment of the public, in favor of the extraordinary force of talents and style displayed by Junius. He says — 'It is not by his liveliness of imagery, his pungency of periods, or his fertility of allusions, that he detains the cits of London and the boors of Middlesex. Of style and sentiment, they take no cognizance . . . The supporters of the Bill of Rights feel no niceties of composition Though I cannot think the style of Junius secure from criticism, though his expressions are often trite and his periods feeble, I should never have stationed him where he has placed himself, had I not rated him by his morals rather than his faculties.'*

Upon the whole, when we compare the decisions of the most eminent critics, and make all just allowances for the bias of political or other feeling, we shall probably

often stiff from academic exactness; as, for example, where he says, Sir William Draper 'seems to have sitten down to write.' P. 45. We cannot help forming conjectures as to the real editorship in this case; but they are not such as would be entitled to attention, and are, perhaps, unfounded.

* We have thought this remarkable critique of Dr Johnson would be a proper addition to the present volume, as it was considered to be to Woodfall's edition of Junius; from the notes of of which we copy it. The reader will find it in our Appendix, No. V. But we are not to be understood as adopting all the opinions contained in it.

find the result of the concurring opinions of those, who estimate the composition of Junius by a rigorous standard of taste, to correspond very nearly with the judgment passed upon it in Heron's work — that if we except 'an occasional excess of epigrammatic turns, a structure of sentences sometimes labored to harshness and almost to obscurity, with a few incongruities of metaphor, these Letters must be owned to be, in all other respects, probably the most vigorous and faultless specimen of human eloquence that the world has yet seen.'

Since this work was put to press, the following article, respecting another candidate for the authorship of Junius, has appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, for February, 1831.

'*Gray's Inn, February* 4.

'Mr Urban, —

'Your correspondent, Mr Barker, in your *last Supplement*, page 579, has misnamed Mr *McLean*, whose Christian name was *Laughlin*, not *Lachlin*. According to my recollection of his handwriting, it bore no resemblance to that of Junius, as given in the fac-simile copies published by Mr George Woodfall. McLean was a man of talent, but I have no conception of his having been able to write the Letters of Junius. That he was connected with Lord Shelburne there is no doubt. It is not likely, therefore, that he should have written against his Lordship; but Junius, in some of his Letters, has spoken contemptuously of that nobleman, who was never held in much esteem as a political character, and was long known by the nick-name of *Malagrida*.

'It is said in the Letter quoted by Mr Barker, that whenever Junius mentions Lord Temple's brother-in-law, Lord Chatham, it is evidently with great caution and hesitancy. Now surely the writer could not have seen the early Letters of Junius, under other signatures, in which Lord Chatham is grossly abused for his support of the American Colonists (whom Junius considered as rebels), and for his Lordship's opposition to the Stamp Act. Junius even goes so far, as to treat Lord Chatham as a lunatic, nor is he much more civil to Lord Camden.

'Junius, beyond all question, was a decided Grenvilleite; and I am thoroughly persuaded he was known to the Grenville family. Indeed, I have heard, on very good authority, that the law citations, contained in one of Junius's Letters to Lord Mansfield, were furnished by Counsellor Darell, and were sent by him from Stowe to Mr Woodfall, the printer of the Public Advertiser; and yet I have never heard that any such animosity existed between the Grenvilles and Lord Mansfield, as could warrant their giving countenance to the severe and inhuman attacks made by Junius on the latter great man.

'I cannot agree with Mr Barker's correspondent, that the French revolution grew out of the principles of Junius; but I think it sprung in a great measure from the resistance of the Americans, to whom, as I have already signified, Junius was fiercely inimical.'

The preceding extract, though published at London in February, before the present work was put to press, was not received by the author of these Letters, till afterwards, in the month of April last. In a commu-

nication of April 13, he makes the following remark upon it:

'The last Supplement here spoken of has not come to hand; but, I presume, the article alluded to by this writer, related to Mr Swinden's pamphlet, supporting the claims of Lord Chatham. The writer thinks it beyond question, that Junius was a Grenville-ite; but he cannot account, or never heard of such animosity existing between the Grenvilles and Lord Mansfield, as could warrant their giving countenance to the inhuman attacks made by Junius on Lord Mansfield. I think this has been satisfactorily accounted for in the course of my investigation.'

The *handwriting* of Junius's Letters is here alluded to by this English writer. The author of the present work has purposely avoided this ground of argument; believing, that he had ample proof without it, and that it was in itself the least to be relied upon. It is, however, occasionally mentioned in the course of the notes to his letters; as at pages 128 and 141; in which last place a curious fact is stated, which, so far as it is of any weight, may be said to confirm the hypothesis of Lord Temple's authorship; that is, that Mr Wilkes and Mr Butler thought the handwriting of Junius's Letters resembled that of a card of invitation which the former had from 'old Lady Temple, *written in her own hand.*' Junius also says to Woodfall, 'I would avoid having this hand too commonly seen;' a hint, which shows it to have been a natural hand, and not, as some have supposed, a feigned one.

A remark or two further, upon what may properly be considered the mere minutiæ of this question, will be here added.

One of the writers in favor of Lord Chatham, Mr Swinden, imagines that the signature C, affixed to several of the Private Letters, might be significant, and mean *Chatham*. An adversary of Lord Chatham would, we think, be more likely to take this disguise. But, apart from the indiscretion of the author's adopting a letter of his own name, the letter C was the initial of various signatures adopted by Junius. It may possibly deserve inquiry, whether the signature affixed to the Pamphlet of 1766, called Lord Temple's pamphlet, is significant — 'N. C. M. S. C.' The same signature is affixed to several pieces in verse (called in the book itself, 'excellent pieces of poetry'!) accompanying an important contemporary publication entitled 'The History of the Minority, during the years 1762, 1763, 1764, and 1765;' of which we have the fourth edition, London, 1765, now before us. This publication, in its tone and course of reflections upon particular topics, and occasionally in its language, bears a strong resemblance to Lord Temple's Pamphlet; and he probably had some agency in it. We may add, that it states numerous facts, which show the intense interest and zeal of Lord Temple in the cause of Mr Wilkes and of civil liberty, in defence of which, he stood forth 'with his *person* as well as his *purse*.' Three of the above letters are initials of Junius's early signatures; the other, N, does not occur among those names. We add but one more remark on this head. Among the Latin lines, which the printer of the Public Advertiser used to throw out as 'signals' to Junius, is the following —

——— De TE fabula narratur; —

where the letters TE, which happen to be the initials of *Temple*, are printed by Woodfall in capitals.

Whether they were so printed in the Public Advertiser, we have not the means of determining. But we do not attach any importance to circumstances of this description, which are as likely to be the result of mere accident, as of design.

LETTERS

ON THE

AUTHORSHIP OF JUNIUS.

LETTER I.

Salem, Massachusetts, August 20, 1830.

Sir,

When I saw you in town on the third instant, there was a paragraph in the Salem Gazette of that morning, stating, upon the authority of late London newspapers, that a person not hitherto named had been discovered to be the author of the *Letters of Junius.* The discovery was said to have been made from documents in the library at Stowe; the person alluded to was Lord Temple. I observed to you, that I had for many years considered Lord Temple to be the author, and I then gave some of the reasons which first led me to entertain that opinion — which, I may add, I have found no reason to abandon in consequence of anything I have seen published on the subject.

The statements which I made on that occasion seemed to you to be entitled to attention; and you ex-

pressed a wish, that I would give you my views on some of the principal points of the subject, which first led me to fix on Lord Temple as the author of those celebrated Letters; accompanied with the proofs which I had found in confirmation of my opinion.

This I shall now attempt to do; relating every circumstance, as it occurred during my investigation, and in that plain manner which will be expected from one, whose habits and business have been very different from that of an author. I shall perhaps detail many things which a skilful writer would throw aside as unnecessary; and I may, on the other hand, omit some that might be of importance. However this may be, you may rest assured, that whatever I communicate shall be truly stated; and I must then leave the importance or unimportance of it to the judgment of the reader.

It is many years since I first read Junius; in my earliest days I was pleased in perusing his Letters, in the common editions, which had no explanatory notes, except the few written by the author himself. But soon after the publication of the valuable edition under the name of *Robert Heron*, Esq., printed in London in 1801, and reprinted in America in 1804, I procured a copy of it and read it with much attention, and with new interest; not, however, originally with the view of making a discovery of the author, — which had long defied the ingenuity of so many persons in England, more favorably circumstanced than I could be at a great distance from the scene, — but simply from the desire of more thoroughly understanding everything which was to be found in a favorite author.

The copy of Heron's Junius, which I owned, happened to be one that contained the engraved portraits of several of the distinguished persons who are mentioned in the work. In some copies of the American edition, as I am informed, the portraits were suppressed; and had it happened, that I had purchased one of those, instead of the copy which I did, it is possible that my attention might not have been again excited, at that period, to a further investigation of the authorship.

However that might have been, on one occasion, while I was turning over the leaves, referring to different passages of the work, and examining the portraits, I was struck with the singular circumstance, — for such it appeared to me, — of finding the portrait of *Earl Temple* conspicuously fronting the title-page, although, according to my recollection, *his name was not once mentioned* in the Letters. This circumstance led me to read the work once more; and I found, as I had anticipated, that, notwithstanding the names of the king's ministers and other leading men of that period, were repeatedly mentioned, the name of Lord Temple did not once occur in the Letters themselves, though it does a few times in the Notes which Junius himself added to them; but even there the name is mentioned in so slight and casual a manner, as not to attract particular attention; and, perhaps, in those few instances was inserted with a design of avoiding the suspicion, which an entire suppression of it might have excited. I also examined Heron's notes, in which Lord Temple is named a few times.

The result was, that I became by degrees, confirmed in the opinion, that Lord Temple must have been the author.

At that time I had not minutely studied the private history of the period when Junius wrote; and I had of course an imperfect knowledge of the family connexions and private friendships or animosities of Lord Temple; having only directed my attention to his political character, and to the part which he had taken in the public transactions of that day. I therefore began as opportunities offered during my leisure hours of reading, to make researches in order to obtain more particular information respecting Lord Temple. Everything I read tended only to strengthen my original impressions.

In the splendid administration of Mr Pitt (Lord Chatham), Earl Temple was of the ministry; in the first instance, as first lord of the admiralty, and afterwards as lord privy seal. Mr Pitt was his brother-in-law, having married his sister; Mr George Grenville, known in this country as the father of the famous American Stamp Act, was a younger brother, and also one of the ministry. In 1761, Lord Temple and Mr Pitt resigned their places, in consequence of a disunion among the ministers, but with an understanding, that they would still continue to act together. Mr Grenville, however, remained in office, and continued to act with his former associates. This unexpected conduct of Mr Grenville, caused an interruption of the friendship subsisting between him and his two brothers. I could not but observe, however, that *Junius* always spoke of Mr Grenville with much respect, both personally and politically; and I soon found that a reconciliation had afterwards taken place — with many other particulars, which I shall mention in the course of my letters. I also found, that partly in consequence of the Duke of Grafton's de-

serting Lord Chatham, after that great man had been the earliest object of the Duke's political wonder and attachment, Junius appeared to hold the Duke in utter detestation.

I began to note down in my copy of Heron's Junius, and on the blank leaves of the volumes, various references to those passages, which appeared to me to support the opinion I had formed respecting the author. This was done some years previous to 1817, which date I fix by an event to be mentioned hereafter.

The copy of Heron's Junius here mentioned, was the one to which I alluded in my first conversation with you on this subject; when, in reply to your inquiry after the book itself, I observed, that it had been out of my possession for several years, but that I would endeavor to recover it. The fact was, that in May, 1825, I disposed of most of the books which constituted my library, and among them was that copy of Junius. Immediately after our conversation I took measures to recover the book, but have not been able to succeed till this time; which must be my apology for not fulfilling my engagement to you so soon as I had intended. I had an impression, as I then observed, that my Junius was in the possession of Dr F*****, in the neighboring town of Beverly; and I accordingly addressed a note to him requesting the use of it for a short time; but he informed me, that it was not in his possession.

A further search led me, only the day before yesterday, to the gentleman who had it, Mr S****** of this town, in whose hands I was happy to find the volumes; and with my old notes, references, and paper marks remaining in them. Among other things,

my references to various passages of the old '*London Magazine*,' of which I had about a hundred numbers, between the years 1763 and 1774. These Magazines had also for several years been out of my hands, having been left packed up with several other pamphlets in a trunk, in a neighboring town. I have been fortunate enough to find them again, with my old marks remaining as I had left them.

In one of those old Magazines, for August, 1766, page 421, my attention was forcibly arrested by an article headed — 'Extracts from a remarkable Pamphlet lately published, entitled *An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honorable Commoner*' — i. e. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham.* The tone and manner of the writer, and especially the minute particulars of private occurrences disclosed in the pamphlet, left no doubt in my mind, that it was written by Lord Temple. It was spoken of as a pamphlet which much engrossed the public attention. The language and spirit of it were, in my opinion, those of Junius; and it bore internal evidence, equally strong, of having been written by Lord Temple.

After the lapse of perhaps a year or two from the time of which I am now speaking, I noticed in the London Magazine for 1774, some letters of Lord Chesterfield, then just published; in one of which, dated the same year with the pamphlet in question, 1766, he says to his son — 'You ask who is the author of the pamphlet?' His reply is — 'it is ascribed to Lord T——' and he

* In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Aug. 1766, p. 347, similar extracts from this pamphlet are given, and some of them more at large. — Edit.

adds — 'but I think it above him.' This last remark, as matter of opinion, had little weight in my mind; the former, however, as a statement of the current report of the day, made a strong impression upon me; as I supposed Lord *Temple* was the person alluded to, and I had myself, upon the internal evidence alone, and without the least knowledge of any such general opinion, already ascribed it to the same nobleman. The title of the pamphlet, it is true, is not mentioned by Lord Chesterfield; but it was obviously, as I thought, the one in question. Assuming it, therefore, as a fact, that Lord Temple must have been the author of the pamphlet, I pursued my investigation upon that supposition; and this pamphlet was the means of my satisfying myself of the correctness of the opinion, which I had formed as to the authorship of Junius.

Upon these data, I made memorandums and marginal references in my copy of Junius; by means of which I shall collect together the substance of the present Letters.

When I first conversed with you, I had no intention of prosecuting the subject any further, than to present a very brief and general view of what I considered to be satisfactory evidence, — I would say demonstration, if it were not presumptuous — *that Lord Temple was the author of Junius.* By your desire, however, I will continue my researches, and shall in future letters communicate the results more in detail than I had before contemplated. I am, &c.

LETTER II.

Sir,

In my last letter I observed, that I had originally assumed it as a fact, upon the internal evidence alone, that Lord Temple was the author of the remarkable pamphlet of 1766; and that I was fully confirmed in that opinion by the observation, which I there quoted from Lord Chesterfield's Letters, notwithstanding his lordship's accompanying remark, that he thought it 'above him.' I have experienced no small gratification at finding what I consider a still further confirmation of my opinion, in the statement made by Mr Almon, the well known Whig printer of that day, in his Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, which I had never seen till the passage was recently pointed out to me by yourself. Mr Almon introduces his copious extracts from the Pamphlet, with this remark, in a note; — 'Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son, says, this pamphlet was written by Lord Temple. But his lordship was mistaken. The pamphlet was written by Mr Humphrey Cotes, assisted by another person. It is, however, true, that the particular facts stated in this account of the conference and of the audience, were *communicated by Lord Temple, in conversation, to Mr Cotes;* who, without Lord Temple's participation, caused them to be published.' From the language of this statement of Mr Almon, circumstanced as he was in relation to Lord Temple and other parties concerned, I have felt no hesitation in drawing the inference, that the substance of the pamphlet was in fact *dictated*, though perhaps not

actually committed to writing, by his lordship himself.* The reflections throughout, and the occasional intensity of passion could have proceeded from no other than the party, whose feelings had been so unjustly and so deeply wounded.

This important pamphlet furnishes us with a solution of one of the difficulties, which has always embarrassed the inquiry into the authorship of Junius's Letters — that is, the vehemence with which Junius originally attacked Lord Chatham (in the Miscellaneous Letters published by Mr Woodfall), though he afterwards, under the signature of Junius, began to change his tone, by first coldly approving of his conduct, and at length bestowing upon him the splendid eulogy which is well known. At the former period, a violent difference had broken out between Lord Temple and Lord Chatham, which was felt by the former, in a manner that was to have been expected from a person of his temperament and disposition, as described — perhaps with partiality — by Mr Almon: 'The natural disposition of this noble

* In a letter, which Mr Almon sent to Lady Chatham with a copy of his Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, he says — 'From your Ladyship's noble brother, the late *Earl Temple*, I received the most interesting part of these Anecdotes; his Lordship honored me with his friendship and esteem many years.' Whether Mr Almon knew the author of Junius, at this period (1791), we cannot determine; but it is a little remarkable, that Junius is mentioned only twice, so far as I have observed, in this whole work; once, in a note, volume i, p. 419, where he is spoken of merely as 'a popular writer;' and once, in the Appendix to volume 3d, page 379, as cited p. 204 *post*. The manner in which Junius is barely mentioned in both places, is remarkable. It should be added, that one of his *Miscellaneous Letters*, signed *Anti-Sejanus, Jr.* is mentioned by Almon, vol. i, p. 329.

lord,' says the writer, 'was the most amiable that can be conceived, to his friends; but when offended, his disapprobation was warm and conspicuous — his language flowed spontaneously from his feelings; his heart and his voice always corresponded. With such a temper, it was not probable, that the cause of his separation from Mr Pitt would either be concealed or indifferently expressed.'* The pamphlet in question gives a minute account of the measures, and particularly of the haughty and overbearing deportment of Lord Chatham, which led to that separation, and compelled Lord Temple (in the language of the pamphlet) to refuse submission to Mr Pitt as 'sole and absolute dictator' in the ministry. But, as I shall have frequent occasion to advert to this separation and various other facts resulting from an examination of this pamphlet, I shall here give several extracts from it, accompanied with a few brief remarks. The whole manner and tone of the pamphlet are such, as would naturally proceed from a wounded spirit like that above described.

The author of the pamphlet begins with this observation — that 'in the tide of almost every great man's life, there is commonly one period, which is not only more remarkable than the rest, but conveys with it strong characteristic marks of the complexion of him to whom it belongs;' and by way of example, he gives us some part of the history of the Lord Chancellor Bacon and others; then he gives us a short history of the 'Right Honorable Commoner' (Mr Pitt), and having carried it down to his being made paymaster, he proceeds thus:—

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. ii, p. 28.

'For a little time he was quiet, but his ever restless ambition soon broke out, and he aimed at the sole guidance of the state, which he seemed resolved to take by storm. He thundered against Hanover, the very name of which he was for expunging out of the dictionary; it was called a mill-stone hung about the neck of Great Britain, and styled the bane of this country, from the expense which it cost us; and the most solemn declarations were made, that not a shilling nor a man should go to Germany. The popular gale wafts him into power, and though not to that degree of eminence in station, which constitutionally gives the lead in public business, yet he usurped an absolute dominion over the whole court. It is his nature to bear no control; therefore the King was taken captive in his closet, and made prisoner upon his throne. But, as it were to atone for this conduct, and to give the public another proof that not theirs but his own interest, was the object he had in view; though absolute minister, and of course at full liberty to carry on the war upon whatever system he pleased, and a neutrality secured for Hanover; yet he entered into all the predilections of his sovereign, broke the neutrality in Germany, and, notwithstanding his many furious and energetic declarations against the continent, the very sounds of which were tingling in our ears, he plunged us deeper into the German war than any of his predecessors; sent over more men and more money, than any other minister ever dared, and at an expense of above eighty millions, *conquered America in Germany.*'*

*'It is only curious from observation of his natural inconsistency, to mention, that when the late Lord Anson was attacked in the House of Commons upon the loss of Minorca, the late Commoner (knowing that the late Lord Hardwicke was then the

'And to support this enormous load of expense, it was at his express injunction, that the last heavy additional duty was laid upon beer, even in opposition to the Duke of Newcastle and the late Mr Legge, who would otherwise have laid a tax upon the luxuries of life, in order to spare the industrious and put the burden upon the rich and idle — a tax cruelly wrung from the briny sweat of industry, and which seems to have been founded on no other principle, than, that in order to render the people dependent, we should begin by making them poor. Ever wishing to attain and preserve power by any sacrifice or any means, and finding soon after the accession of his present Majesty, that the Earl of Bute was in possession of the royal ear, he was the first and principal instrument of that noble lord's introduction to power, particularly to the post of secretary of state and coadjutor to himself; which shows, as clearly as anything can, his early and close connexion with the Favorite. And upon what principle could this be done, but the hope of thereby laying the foundation of security to himself.

'When the Favorite had gained the ascendancy, and had formed designs incompatible with the honor of the crown and the interest of the kingdom; when he had drawn the substance and the shadow likewise of strength from the great Commoner, and defeated him also in his mighty design upon Spain; then, even then, notwith-

court's favorite) stood up to vindicate his Lordship, and said, "that he was convinced his lordship had erred through want of intellect, and not through design." After this extraordinary declaration, he restored his lordship to that very post, for which he had pronounced him unqualified through deficiency of understanding.' *Note by the author of the pamphlet.*

standing this insult and many others, such was either his lust for office, or his friendship for the favorite, that he would have sacrificed his haughty, overbearing spirit to a sufferance of remaining in office, and submitted to a control not only contradictory of all his former principles, but infamous in the eyes of the public, had it not been for the spirited and truly patriotic resentment of his most noble friend and relation, Earl Temple; who, with a magnanimity almost peculiar to himself, disdained to wear the chains, or put on the livery of such an incompetent statesman, such a contemptible being; and first strongly urged, and at length forced the Commoner into resignation; which he accompanied with his *own*, in order to give an example of spirit and resistance to an usurpation, so exceedingly dangerous to both court and people.'

After having given an account of several fruitless negotiations for bringing Mr Pitt again into the administration, he gives us an account of the then late successful one as follows:

'The error last year had been in consulting Lord Temple *first*. This year another method was taken, Mr Pitt was *first* applied to; and after that gentleman had had a conference, first with the late lord chancellor, and then with his majesty, Lord Temple was sent for; who, directly after his coming to town, waited on his majesty at Richmond. Next day (July 16, 1766) his lordship received a very affectionate letter from Mr Pitt, then at North-End, Hampstead, desiring to see his lordship there, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His lordship went, and Mr Pitt acquainted him, that his majesty had been graciously pleased to send

for him to form an administration; and, as he thought his lordship *indispensable*, he desired his majesty to send for him, and to put him at the head of the treasury; and that he himself would take the post of privy seal. The Commoner then produced a list of several persons, which, he said, *he* had fixed upon to go in with his lordship; and which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord Temple said, that he had had the honor of a conference with his majesty at Richmond the evening before, and that he did not understand, from what passed between them, that Mr Pitt was to be absolute master, and to form every part of the administration; if he had, he would not have given himself the trouble of coming to Mr Pitt upon that subject, being determined to come in upon an equality with Mr Pitt, in case he was to occupy the most responsible place under the government. And, as Mr Pitt had chosen only a side place, without any responsibility annexed to it, he should insist upon some of his friends being in the cabinet offices with him, and in whom he could confide; which he thought Mr Pitt could have no objection to, as he must be sensible he could not come in with honor, unless he had such nomination; nor did he desire but that Mr Pitt should have his share of the nomination of *his* friends. And his lordship added, that he made a sacrifice of his *brother, Mr George Grenville*, who, notwithstanding his being entirely out of place, and excluded from all connexion with the intended system, would nevertheless support the measures of their administration; that it was his idea to conciliate all parties, which was the ground that made Mr Pitt's former administration so respectable and glorious, and to form upon the solid

basis of *Union*, an able and responsible administration; to brace the relaxed sinews of government; retrieve the honor of the crown, and pursue the permanent interest of the public: but, that if Mr Pitt insisted upon a superior dictation, and did not choose to join in a plan for the restoration of that *Union*, which at no time was ever so necessary, he desired the conference might be broke off, and that Mr Pitt would give himself no further trouble about him, for that he would not submit to the proposed conditions. Mr Pitt, however, insisted upon continuing the conference; and asked, who those persons were whom his lordship intended for some of the cabinet employments? His lordship answered, that one in particular was a noble lord of approved character and known abilities, who had last year refused the very office now offered to him (Lord Temple) though pressed to it in the strongest manner by the Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Newcastle; and who, being their common friend, he did not doubt Mr Pitt himself had in contemplation. This worthy and respectable person was Lord Lyttleton. At the conclusion of this sentence, Mr Pitt said, good God, how can you compare him to the Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, and Mr Conway? Besides, said he, I have taken the privy seal and he cannot have that. Lord Temple then mentioned the post of lord president; upon which Mr Pitt said, that could not be, for he had engaged the presidency: but, says he, Lord Lyttleton may *have a pension.* To which Lord Temple immediately answered, that would never do; nor would he stain the bud of his administration with the accumulation of pensions. It is true Mr Pitt vouchsafed to permit the noble lord to nominate his own

board; but at the same time insisted, that if two persons of that board (Thomas Townsend and George Onslow, Esq.), were turned out, they should have a compensation, i. e. *pensions*.

'Mr Pitt next asked, what person his lordship had in his thoughts for secretary of state? His lordship answered, Lord Gower, a man of great abilities, and whom he knew to be equal to any Mr Pitt had named, and of much greater alliance; and in whom he meant and hoped to unite and conciliate a great and powerful party, in order to widen and strengthen the bottom of his administration, and to vacate even the idea of opposition; thereby to restore unanimity in parliament, and confine every good man's attention to the real object of his country's welfare. And his lordship added, that he had never imparted his designs to Lord Gower, nor did he know, whether that noble Lord would accept of it; * but mentioned it now only as a comprehensive measure, to attain the great end he wished, of restoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties, that the business of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only business of parliament. But Mr Pitt rejected this proposal, evidently healing as it appeared, by saying, that he had determined Mr Conway should stay in his present office, and that he had Lord Shelburne to propose for the other office, then held by the Duke of Richmond; so that there remained no room for Lord Gower. This, Lord Temple said, was coming to his first proposition of being *sole and absolute dictator, to which no consideration should ever in-*

*'Lord Temple afterwards wrote to Lord Gower, to excuse the mention he had made of his name.'

duce him to submit. And therefore he insisted upon ending the conference; which he did with saying, that if he had been first called upon by the king, he should have consulted Mr Pitt's honor, with regard to the arrangement of ministers, and have given *him* an equal share in the nomination; and that he thought himself *ill-treated by Mr Pitt*, in his not observing the like conduct.

'Had Mr Pitt not chosen to refuse a plan of government, so obviously calculated and designed for the good of the country, and for putting an end to those unhappy divisions which have long obstructed the public business, we should have seen an administration formed of the most able and upright men in the kingdom; acting upon principles agreeable to the public wishes; and whose natural strength and alliances, would have given such stability to their power, as would have afforded the most sincere satisfaction to the public, who are concerned and grieved at their repeated *changes*, made apparently without any design of restoring peace to the kingdom, or any desire of putting the direction of affairs into capable hands; *changes* obviously patched up, and consisting of nothing but a temporary succession of men, whose names were almost unknown till they appeared in the Gazette. *Changes* made by the favorite, and designed to render all sets of men contemptible, that he may at length, like Cardinal Mazarine, publicly resume his power and tell the people, he is the only capable man in the kingdom.'

This is followed, in the pamphlet, by some strictures upon the history of that Cardinal, who was advanced and protected in the administration of France by the Queen mother of Lewis XIV; and upon Mr Pitt's

late acceptance of a title and a share with Lord Bute in the administration of this kingdom; which the author concludes thus:

'With whom, besides, is the late Commoner in league? With those very men whom he hated most and despised; with Gen. Conway, whom two years ago he refused to see at Hayes, though pressed to it in the strongest manner by Lord Lyttleton; with Lord Shelburne, upon whom he put a negative last year, when nominated to the very office he now enjoys; with Col. Barré, who called him an heap of contradictions, &c. &c.

'If it is asked, why had he so great a penchant for them now? the answer is, because the first, in a great measure, laid the foundation of the surrender of the honor and authority of Great Britain, and made a tender of both at the feet of the Colonies; the second assisted him, and the third follows of course.

'This little corps, contemptible in numbers and despicable in abilities, is to be reinforced by the subalterns of the late ministry; by those whose excessive lust for office, whose ingratitude, meanness, and subserviency, would not suffer them to follow the resignations and dismissions of their patrons. The moment these heard there was another recruiting sergeant in town, they instantly deserted both officers and colors under which they had first enlisted, and for present pay and good quarters, repaired to the drum-head of the enemy.' *

In my next letter I shall make some remarks upon this extraordinary publication. I am, &c.

* In 1768 Lord Temple was reconciled with Mr Pitt. The Letters of Junius commenced in 1769. Then how much the

LETTER III.

SIR,

THE pamphlet, from which the extracts in my last letter were taken, will be found upon a careful perusal to carry its own evidence with it of having been written by Earl Temple. A writer in the London Magazine of August 1766, in attempting to controvert the arguments of the pamphlet, also assumes him to have been the author; and observes, that 'he labors hard to prove that Lord Chatham is the willing tool of Lord Bute; and, from the discovery thereof, Lord Temple, as must be supposed, declined taking part in the administration.' The same writer further says, 'that Lord Temple was offered the chief department of state, but he insisted on Lord Lyttleton being given that, which had previously been assigned to Lord North,' and 'thus does it evidently appear that Lord Temple's objections were, not that the administration was to be framed or to proceed under the influence of Lord Bute, but to *his* not being permitted to recommend whom he pleased to some of the chief offices in government.' Again—'as to Lord Temple's making so great a merit of sacrificing a *brother (Mr Grenville, who had previously taken so great care of himself)* that surely should appear strange, after a declaration having been made of their reconciliation being only kindred, and not political.'

language and sentiments of this pamphlet, except towards Lord Chatham, coincide with the language and sentiments of Junius's Letters.

Again he says — ' it appears that Lord Temple had in effect separated from Lord Chatham, and thrown himself at the head of a party, which the latter would not join, and therefore they are become like the kindred chiefs of Rome, each struggling for the superiority; and which in the end will prevail, can only be foreseen by estimating the comparative degree of popularity, which each with his respective party, may be supposed to possess; for thereon must depend, which will like Pompey, become vanquished, or victorious, like Cæsar.'

These extracts from a contemporary writer show the opinion entertained by Lord Temple of that administration; and also, that he was himself, in some sense, a *disappointed man.* They also show the opinion, which his adversaries entertained of the greatness of his character, as well as his energy of mind.

Junius, in his first letter and elsewhere, speaks of his brother, *Mr Grenville*, with particular respect. In animadverting upon the bad management of their finances under the Duke of Grafton, he observes, that ' when Mr Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable. But unfortunately for this country, Mr Grenville was at any rate to be distressed, because he was minister; and Mr Pitt and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition.' He adds in a note—' yet Junius has been called the partizan of Lord Chatham!'

This note by Junius illustrates, why he had been so called—because *he had been* politically opposed to Mr Grenville. But Lord Temple and he both were reconciled to Lord Chatham in 1768, a few months before the date of Junius's first letter.

Taking it for granted then, that Lord Temple is the author, the extracts which I have given, viewed in connexion with Junius's letters, will throw that light which we seek on the subject of the present inquiry.

Junius, in his first letter observes, that 'appearances justify suspicion; and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of inquiry. Let us enter into it with candor and decency.' I have already shown the detestation in which he held the Duke of Grafton. But Sir William Draper, being touched by the manner in which *his* commander, Lord Granby, is noticed, in a reply attempts his defence. This evidently leads Junius on to higher game, as in the sequel. In the 15th Letter he says—'the advice of the ablest men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected. The spirit of the *favorite* (Lord Bute) had some apparent influence upon every administration; there were certain services to be performed for the favorite's security, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom or virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr Grenville, and Lord Rockingham have successively had the honor of being dismissed for doing their duty to the public, rather than those compliances which were expected from their station.'

Here Junius might have added *Lord Temple*; but he avoids naming himself throughout.

Again—' a submissive administration was at last collected from the desertion of all parties, interests, and connexions; and nothing remained but to find a leader, for these gallant, well disciplined troops. Stand forth, my Lord, for thou art the * man. Lord Bute found no resource of dependance or security in the proud, imposing superiority of *Lord Chatham's* abilities; the shrewd, inflexible judgment of *Mr Grenville*,' &c.

Remarks. — The *one* (Lord Chatham) had been an honorable competitor and was brother-in-law to Mr Grenville; the other, (Mr Grenville) *his brother*; and both, for some time, at variance with Lord Temple, alias Junius, but now friends. The great objects of Lord Temple in writing Junius, were — 1st, to establish his own everlasting fame; 2d, that of his family connexions, at the same time he was attempting to establish the rights of Englishmen; he therefore aimed the boldest invectives against the administration, knowing that by its overthrow, he and his friends would come into power, and that he should thereby gratify his own ambition; but directing that ambition to the seeking of his country's honor and welfare.

In his 18th Letter, which is addressed to Sir Wm. Blackstone, he again mentions his brother, Mr Grenville, thus: ' Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack of *Mr Grenville's character*, and a defence of your own. It would have been more consistent per-

* Granby.

haps with your professed intentions to have confined yours to the last. It is not my design to enter into a formal *vindication* of *Mr Grenville upon his own principles*. Your first reflection is, that *Mr Grenville* was, of all men, the person who should not have complained of inconsistence with regard to Mr Wilkes,' &c. See also 19th Letter, the same subject continued, and Mr Grenville defended by Philo Junius. In Letter 23d (to the Duke of Bedford) he says — 'I will not pretend to specify the *secret terms*, on which you were invited to support an administration, which Lord *Bute* pretended to leave in full possession of their ministerial authority and perfectly *masters* of themselves.'— The administration, as appears by a note, was composed of *Mr Grenville*, Lord Halifax, and Lord Egremont.

Again — 'Apparently united with *Mr Grenville*, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness. The moment their dismission was suspected, the moment you perceived another system was adopted in the closet, you thought it no disgrace, to return to your former dependence and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.'

It may not be without use to add, in this connexion, Lord Chesterfield's sentiments of the administrations, from his letters to his son, between 1763 and 1768, published in the London Magazine for 1774:—

'July 15th, 1765 — I told you in my last you should hear from me again, as soon as I had any thing more to write; and now I have too much to write and will

refer you to the Gazette. Many more changes are talked of; I do not remember, in my time, to have seen so much at once as an entire new board of treasury and two new secretaries of state, &c.

'Here is a new political arch almost built, but of materials of so different a nature, and without a key stone, that it does not, in my opinion, indicate either strength or duration. It will certainly require repairs and a key stone next winter, and that key stone must be Mr Pitt. It is true he might have been that key stone now; and would have accepted it, but not *without Lord Temple's* consent; and Lord Temple positively refused. There *was evidently some trick* in this, but what, is past my conjecturing.' But see Lord Temple's pamphlet above quoted, for a very different account of this affair.

'August 25th, 1765 — I do not know whether you have the Daily Advertiser, and the Public Advertiser, in which all the political letters are inserted, and some very well written ones on both sides; but I know, that they amuse me for an hour or two every morning. Lord Temple *is the supposed author* of the pamphlet you mention; but I think it above him. Perhaps his brother, who is no ways satisfied with the present arrangement, may have assisted him.'

It is evident, that Lord Chesterfield had not read the pamphlet from which I have above given extracts (and which was written, as I have no doubt, by Lord Temple), for he gives a wrong reason for Mr Pitt's not being that key stone now. Neither does he justly appreciate the talents of Lord Temple.

I give one more extract from Lord Chesterfield, as corroborating that part of Lord Temple's pamphlet, which speaks of Mr Pitt's not being satisfied with anything short of being dictator. It is dated August 17th, 1765. 'You have seen there has been changes at Court. I believe there must be more, before a ministry is settled; what those will be, God knows. Were I to conjecture, I should say the whole will centre in Mr Pitt.

'August 1st, 1766 — The curtain was at last drawn up, the day before yesterday, and discovered the new actors, together with the old ones. Mr Pitt, who had carte blanche given him, named every one of them; but what would you think he named himself for? Lord privy seal, and (what will astonish you as it does every mortal here) Earl of Chatham. The joke is here, that he had *a fall up stairs*, and has done himself so much hurt, that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again. Every body is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time that great abilities have been duped by low cunning. But be it what it will, he is now certainly only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr Pitt, in any respect whatever. It is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could have made me believe it; but true it is. Charles Townsend has now the sole management of the House of Commons; but how long he will be content to be only Lord Chatham's *vicegerent* there, is a question which I will not pretend to decide. There is one very bad sign for Lord Chatham's new dignity, which is, that all his enemies without exception rejoice at it; and all his friends are

stupified and dumbfounded when this ministry is settled, it be the sixth ministry in six years' time.'

The following extracts from the Notes to Heron's valuable edition of Junius, will throw still further light upon the history of the administrations of that period; a knowledge of which is indispensable in this inquiry.

In Letter 11th, to the Duke of Grafton, Junius says, 'The system you seem to have adopted, when Lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise,' &c.; upon which Heron has this Note:—'Upon the dismission of the Buckingham administration, Lord *Temple*, partly, as it should seem, for want of penetration and comprehension of mind, partly from honesty, and in part from an ungenerous personal resentment, refused, as he had formerly done, to assist in the formation of a new ministry, unless he might be assured, that the king would, on all occasions, adopt whatever principles of policy *he* should choose to dictate, and would employ those, and only those servants, whom *he* should recommend. Such terms, it would not have become the sovereign to comply with. Lord Chatham had a mind incapable of dealing so ungenerously with his prince. He formed an administration to succeed the party of Lord Rockingham, in which a nomination of men from all parties was attempted, to the exclusion of none but the unwavering adherents of Rockingham and *Temple*. The Duke of Grafton had been secretary of state under the Marquis of Rockingham. He abandoned that administration, when he found their fall was near. Attaching himself to Lord Chatham and appointed first lord of the treasury, while Chatham reserved for himself the place of lord privy seal in the new ministry.'

It is truly surprising, that a writer so familiar with the history of that period, as the author of the above Note appears to have been, should have formed such an estimate of the talents of Lord Temple, as to imagine, that he refused to assist in forming a new ministry, 'in part for want of penetration and comprehension of mind.' The very fact, that he was called upon jointly with Lord Chatham for that purpose, if there were no other proof of abilities, would of itself strongly show the opinion entertained of him by those persons, who had the best opportunities of knowing his talents. But Lord Temple, in his pamphlet, as we have seen, gives a better reason for his declining to act on that occasion.

On Letter 12th, to the Duke of Grafton, 1769, Heron has this Note:—

'The parties of the Duke of Newcastle, and of Pitt and Lord Temple, were now both in opposition. Lord Egremont and the Earl of Granville died; and the Duke of Bedford and his friends were introduced to the ministry. These ministers became disagreeable to their sovereign; and attempts were made by the Earl of Bute, by the sovereign himself, by the Duke of Cumberland, to prevail with Mr Pitt, Lord *Temple*, and Lord Lyttleton, to form a new ministry, and to occupy its principal places. These attempts were unsuccessful, because the sovereign would not deliver himself up into the hands of Mr Pitt and Lord Temple, so unconditionally as they required.'

I may remark upon this Note, that Lord Temple's pamphlet, to which I have referred, sets this matter also in its proper light.

In Heron's Notes on Letter 15th, addressed to the Duke of Grafton, the following remark occurs:

'At *the time* these letters were written, Lord Chatham *Lord Temple*, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Mr George Grenville, acted in union.'

In the text, to which the above is a note, Junius says — 'The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr Grenville, and Lord Rockingham have successively had the honor to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants to the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station.'

And why did not Junius name *Lord Temple* with these other three? I can imagine no other reason than to avoid speaking of himself.

Again — Junius speaks emphatically of 'the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr Grenville.'

Note by Heron. 'This gentleman was a younger brother of Lord Temple and brother-in-law to Lord Chatham. In parliament he acted with his elder brother, afterwards Earl Temple, with Mr Pitt, and Sir George Lyttleton. When Mr Pitt and Lord Temple retired abruptly from office, Mr Grenville was persuaded to co-operate with his brother-in-law, the Earl of Egremont, under the banners of Lord Bute. On the resignation of Lord Bute he was raised to the place of first lord of the treasury. He was the author of the famous stamp-act, and of the first persecution of Mr Wilkes. He had been at variance with his brother, Lord Temple, ever since that nobleman retired from office; *but they were now reconciled.* He continued, ever after, in opposition to the ministers.

. . . . In 1768, both he and Lord Temple were fully reconciled to Lord Chatham.'

Junius's Letter to Sir Wm. Blackstone 1769 : — 'Your first reflection is, that Mr Grenville was of all men, the person who should not have complained of inconsistence with regard to Mr Wilkes. This, sir, is an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, if it means anything, you plainly beg the question ; for whether his conduct has or has not been inconsistent with regard to Mr Wilkes remains to be proved.'

Junius's last letter is addressed to Lord Camden, and closes the series thus : —

'Considering the situation and abilities of Lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that in my judgment, he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom. Thus far I have done my duty in endeavoring to bring him to punishment. But mine is an inferior, ministerial office, in the Temple of justice, I have bound the victim and dragged him to the altar.'

The reasons for this extreme hostility to Lord Mansfield will appear hereafter.

In a note to Letter 7, to the Duke of Grafton, Heron says — 'The North Briton, the work of John Wilkes, assisted by Charles Churchill and Lord *Temple*, was admirably addressed to every popular prejudice and passion, and contributed, therefore, in an extraordinary degree to inflame both high and low, especially about the metropolis, with mingled rage and contempt against the government.'

When therefore Lord Temple commenced writing the Letters of Junius, he had become already practised in that kind of skill, which should operate like enchantment, on high and low, on both mobs and and lords, on the unlearned and the learned.

In the Notes on Letter 35th, to the King, Heron remarks — 'It was published on the eve of an occasion upon which the Whigs hoped, at last, to force themselves in a body into administration on their own terms. The Grenvilles, the Earl of Chatham, the Marquis of Rockingham, with their adherents, were now united,' &c.

Letter 35th. The distance of the Colonies, &c.

Note by Heron: 'It should seem, as if, in writing this paragraph, Junius felt himself at a loss, whether to be of the opinion of Mr Grenville, or that of Lord Chatham, in respect to the treatment of the Americans.'

It being Lord Temple who wrote, he was at a loss; the remarks would apply to no other man.

Letter 39th. 'The cause of the public was undertaken and supported by men, whose abilities and united authority, to say nothing of the advantageous ground they stood on, might well be thought sufficient to determine a popular question in favor of the people.'* *Junius.*

Letter 52d. Note by Heron: — 'Mr Wilkes was appointed to the chief command of a regiment. The Grenvilles were his friends. Lord Temple, his

* * Note by Heron — 'Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, Lord Temple, Mr Beckford, Mr Dowdeswell.' Similar remarks as in the pamphlet, &c.

neighbor in the country; and during the ministry of Pitt and Temple, Wilkes was an adherent, and even a favorite of the ministers. When Pitt and Lord Temple retired from official employment, Wilkes was led to adopt, with warmth, the resentments of his friend Temple.'

Letter 52d. Note by Heron: — 'The papers of the North Briton were written with purity and liveliness of style, with great violence of satire, with a knowledge of the most secret anecdotes of the time, with a perfect adaptation of their spirit to the tone of vulgar prejudice, sometimes with genuine strokes of serious eloquence, never without considerable depth and force of argument. Their success both in irritating the ministry, and gratifying the opposition, was truly astonishing.'

And Lord Temple largely contributed to that publication; yet the man who penned the note above, did not suspect him of being the author of Junius!

Letter 52d. Heron's note. — 'The outcry on account of the persecution of Wilkes, contributed to unsettle the administration in which George Grenville was connected with the Duke of Bedford. The promise of a reversal of the proceedings against him by the leaders of the opposition, if they should come into office, was a lure for popularity, held out to the nation. Perhaps Earl Temple — and if so, he alone was sincere. But they were all taken at their word, and the strength of opposition was greatly increased by the friends of Wilkes.'

Who writes the notes to this edition of Junius? Lord Temple is always best spoken of.

Letter 55th. — 'Lord Lyttleton's integrity and judgment are unquestionable — yet he is known to admire that cunning Scotchman, and verily believes *him* an honest man.' *Junius.*

Note by Heron — 'Lord Geo. Lyttleton — The author of the Essay on the conversion of St Paul — the orator, poet, and statesman. He was truly a good man, and a man of talents. His approbation was, therefore, a noble testimony in favor of Lord Mansfield.'

And I add, that this Lord Lyttleton is the same, whom Lord Temple proposed to Mr Pitt, to join them in the administration, of the failure of which, Lord Temple so loudly complains in the pamphlet against Mr Pitt.

Letter 55th. As for the common sordid views, &c. 'This praise of Lord Chatham, is manly and noble; it is at the same time, artful, Junius praises Lord Chatham's talents and exertions; avoids speaking of his disinterestedness, or selfish ambition; shews that he himself was not that nobleman's creature.'

Lord Temple has given sufficient evidence of that. Is this writer blind, that he did not see it?

I could go on multiplying the proofs to be found in support of my opinion; but I fear I must already have fatigued you. What I now send you has been hastily put together, amidst continual interruptions of business, in the course of two or three days; which must be my apology for the disconnected form in which they appear. But I have sent you a key, that will unlock the casket; I am sure the jewel is there.

I am, sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Sir,

In connexion with the pamphlet of 1766, which, for the sake of brevity, I shall call Lord Temple's, I beg leave to ask your attention to a *letter* written by Junius, under one of his other signatures, *Poplicola*, shortly after the publication of that pamphlet. The pamphlet, it will be recollected, appeared about the month of August 1766; and the letter, to which I now refer, is dated April 28, 1767, being the first of the *miscellaneous letters* published by Mr. G. Woodfall, and the first of Junius's *known* publications subsequent to the pamphlet, and subsequent to the open and violent rupture between Lord Temple and Lord Chatham, already mentioned. The perfect correspondence between the pamphlet and this letter, in the general train of reflections, the strong feeling, and even the style of expression, plainly indicate them to have proceeded from one source; and we may justly apply to this, as well as other letters, his own remark — 'When he honors them [the objects of his attacks] with his notice, it is not a momentary blast. He gathers like a tempest, and all the fury of the elements burst upon them at once.' The letter is as follows:

'FOR THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

28*th April*, 1767.

'The bravest and freest nations have sometimes submitted to a temporary surrender of their liberties, in

order to establish them forever. At a crisis of public calamity or danger, the prudence of the state placed a confidence in the virtue of some distinguished citizen, and gave him power sufficient to preserve or to oppress his country. Such was the Roman dictator, and while his office was confined to a short period, and only applied as a remedy to the disasters of an unsuccessful war, it was usually attended with the most important advantages, and left no dangerous precedent behind. The dictator, finding employment for all his activity in repulsing a foreign invasion, had but little time to contrive the ruin of his own country, and his ambition was nobly satisfied by the honor of a triumph and the applause of his fellow citizens. But as soon as this wise institution was corrupted, when that unlimited trust of power, which should have been reserved for conjunctures of more than ordinary difficulty and hazard, was without necessity committed to one man's uncertain moderation, what consequence could be expected, but that the people should pay the dearest price for their simplicity, nor ever resume those rights, which they could vainly imagine were more secure in the hands of a single man, than where the laws and constitution had placed them.

'Without any uncommon depravity of mind, a man so trusted might lose all ideas of public principle or gratitude, and not unreasonably exert himself to perpetuate a power, which he saw his fellow citizens weak and abject enough to surrender to him. But if, instead of a man of common mixed character, whose vices might be redeemed by some appearance of virtue and generosity, it should have unfortunately happened, that

a nation had placed all their confidence in a man purely and perfectly bad, if a great and good prince, by some fatal delusion, had made choice of such a man for his first minister, and had delegated all his authority to him, what security would that nation have for its freedom, or that prince for his crown? The history of every nation, that once had a claim to liberty, will tell us what would be the progress of such a traitor, and what the probable event of his crimes.*

'Let us suppose him arrived at that moment, at which he might see himself within reach of the great object, to which all the artifices, the intrigues, the hypocrisy and the impudence of his past life were directed. On the point of having the whole power of the crown committed to him, what would be his conduct? an affectation of prostrate humility in the closet, but a lordly dictation of terms to the people, by whose interest he had been supported, by whose fortunes he had subsisted. Has he a brother? that brother must be sacrificed.†

'* This severe invective is aimed against the late Lord Chatham, formerly the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt. The reader, by a perusal of the preceding letters, is already acquainted with the utter aversion which Junius at first felt for this nobleman, on various political accounts, and especially on the subject of the American dispute. His aversion, however, softened as their political views approximated, and was at length converted into approbation and eulogy.' [His aversion however did not soften till Mr Pitt withdrew from a weak administration in disgust, and joined his brothers, Lord Temple and Mr Grenville. N.] *Note to G. Woodf. ed. vol. 2, p. 453, London ed.*

'† Lord Temple, brother-in-law to Lord Chatham. They resigned their respective offices, the former, of privy seal, and the latter, as principal secretary of state, in Oct. 1761. Lord

Has he a rancorous enemy? that enemy must be promoted.* Have years of his life been spent in declaiming against the pernicious influence of a favorite? that favorite must be taken to his bosom, and made the only partner of his power. † But it is in the natural course of things that a despotic power, which of itself violates every principle of a free constitution, should be acquired by means, which equally violate every principle of honor and morality. The office of a grand vizier is inconsistent with a limited monarchy, and never can subsist long but by its destruction. The same measures, by which an abandoned profligate is advanced to power, must be observed to maintain him in it. The principal nobility, who might disdain to submit to the upstart insolence of a dictator, must be removed from every post of honor and authority; all public employments must be filled with a despicable set of creatures, who, having neither experience nor capacity, nor any weight or respect in their own persons, will necessarily derive all their little busy importance from him. As the absolute destruction of the constitution of his country would be his great object, to be consistent with that design he must exert himself to weaken and impoverish every rank and order of the community, which by the nature of their property, and the degree

Temple was succeeded by the Duke of Bedford; and upon Lord Chatham's forming his administration in 1766, he took the post of privy seal himself. Lord Temple did not take part in any ministry arranged subsequent to his resignation of that office, and died Sept. 11, 1779.' *Woodf. ed.*

'* The Duke of Bedford.' *Woodf. ed.*

'† Lord Bute.' *Woodf. ed.*

of their wealth, might have a particular interest in the support of the established government, as well as power to oppose any treacherous attempts against it. The landed estate must be oppressed; the rights of the merchant must be arbitrarily invaded, and his property forced from him by main force, without even the form of a legal proceeding. It will assist him much, if he can contribute to the destruction of the poor, by continuing the most burthensome taxes upon the main articles of their subsistence. He must also take advantage of any favorable conjuncture to try how far the nation will bear to see the established laws suspended by proclamation; and, upon such occasions, he must not be without an apostate lawyer, weak enough to sacrifice his own character, and base enough to betray the laws of his country.*

'These are but a few of the pernicious practices by which a traitor may be known, by which a free people may be enslaved. But the masterpiece of his treachery, and the surest of answering all his purposes, would be, if possible, to foment such discord between the mother country and her colonies, as may leave them both an easier prey to his own dark machinations. With this patriotic view, he will be ready to declare himself the patron of sedition and a zealous advocate for rebellion. His doctrines will correspond with the proceedings of the people he protects; and if by his assistance they can obtain a victory over the supreme legislature of the empire, he will consider that victory

* 'The character alluded to is Earl Cambden, at that time Lord Chancellor.' *Woodf. ed.*

as an important step towards the advancement of his main design. *

'Such, sir, in any free state, would probably be the conduct and character of a man unnecessarily trusted with exorbitant power. He must either succeed in establishing a tyranny or perish. I cannot without horror suppose it possible that this our native country should ever be at the mercy of so black a villain. But if the case should happen hereafter, I hope the British people will not be abandoned by Providence, as not to open their eyes time enough to save themselves from destruction; and though we have no Tarpeian rock for the immediate punishment of treason, yet we have impeachment, and a gibbet is not too honorable a situation for the carcase of a traitor.'

I shall make some further remarks on this letter hereafter. I am, &c.

* Lord Chatham, then Mr Pitt, opposed Mr George Grenville's [brother to Lord Temple] stamp act, and denied the right of the parliament of Great Britain to legislate for America.' *Woodfall's edition.*

LETTER V.

SIR,

I have given you, at large, the first of Junius's *Miscellaneous* Letters, as corresponding most remarkably in its spirit and train of thought, with Lord Temple's pamphlet. I may add, that the second and third of those letters are also of the same stamp, particularly in relation to Lord Chatham — who, as well as his ministry, was assailed with the most unsparing severity until the period when the reconciliation took place between him and Lord Temple, which was in the autumn of the year 1768. I must content myself with referring, for proof of this, to the *Miscellaneous* Letters from April 28, 1767, down to the 19th of October, 1768; three days previous to which last, Lord Chatham had resigned his post of privy seal.* In that letter, under the signature of *Atticus*, after animadverting upon the other ministers, he says — 'The Earl of Chatham — I had much to say, but it were inhuman to persecute, when Providence has marked out the example to mankind!' Lord Chatham was at this time, says Woodfall, so severely tortured and worn away by the gout that it was supposed he would never be able to resume an active part in politics. But shortly after this, November 14th, his tone is much moderated towards Lord Chatham, who from this period gradually becomes the subject of his praises — 'he grows upon his esteem' — 'from that moment I began to like him,' &c.

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. 3, p. 175.

The letter next in date to this, is a very friendly one of December 15, 1768, addressed to the Right Hon. George Grenville, his brother; and next to that, in order, is the first of the regular series under the signature of Junius, dated January 21, 1769; to which is subjoined the note which I have before quoted — 'Yet Junius has been called the partizan of Lord Chatham!' — a remark which must have been called forth by his adversaries' noticing the recent change of his tone towards that noble Lord. From this time through the whole period of *Junius's* Letters, Lord Temple, Mr Grenville and Lord Chatham, remained on friendly terms.

Mr Almon says: — 'Lord Chatham had unceasingly lamented his difference with Lord Temple, from the time it happened; and being now [1768], emancipated from the connexions of office, and even from the suspicion of a connexion with the court, he sought the friendship of his brother with anxiety and sincerity. On this occasion he made Mr Calcraft his confidant. He confessed to him that almost every body else had betrayed him — his brother, he said, had indeed abused him; but it was in the warmth of his temper and the openness of his nature, which was superior to all hypocrisy, or concealment of disapprobation. Mr Calcraft approved himself a cordial and assiduous mediator. He accomplished their reconciliation; they had no more differences afterwards; and they were, if possible, more affectionately united than ever they had been. Mr Grenville perfectly acceded to the union.' * The same writer, in another part of his work, observes: — 'These two great men united made a host against the

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. 2, p. 74.

world; but, when separated, they became the instruments of two factions, both of them without intending it, and for some time without perceiving it; Lord Chatham of the court, and Lord Temple of the opposition.'*

The character here given of Lord Temple's talents, is widely different, as you perceive, from that which I formerly quoted from Lord Chesterfield and which I never could consider to be a just one. In connexion with this opinion of Mr Almon, I may add an extract from one of Mr Wilkes's letters, to the same point: — 'Lord Chatham declared in parliament the strongest attachment to Lord Temple, one of the *greatest* characters our country could ever boast, and said *he would live and die with his noble brother.* He saw early the hostile intentions of Spain, and if the *written advice* had been followed, a very few weeks had probably closed the last general war; although the merit of that *advice* was more the merit of his *noble* brother [Lord Temple], than his own.' †

While I am upon this part of the subject, as I have, from Lord Temple's Pamphlet, given his account of the rupture with Mr Pitt, which followed their joint resignation, it is proper also to insert here Mr Pitt's letter, which was written in justification of himself for having so soon after that resignation, taken a course, which, assuredly, Lord Temple had no reason to expect under such circumstances. The letter in question was addressed by Mr Pitt to a friend in the city, and is as follows:

* Anecdotes vol. 2, p. 31.

† Woodfall's Junius, Miscell. Lett. vol. 2, p. 457, note to Lett. 2.

'Dear Sir—Finding to my great surprise that the cause and manner of my resigning the seals, is grossly misrepresented in the city, as well as the most gracious and *spontaneous* marks of his majesty's approbation of my services, which marks *followed* my resignation, have been infamously traduced as a bargain for my forsaking the public, I am under a necessity of declaring the *truth* of both these facts, in a manner which I am sure no gentleman will contradict. A difference of opinion with regard to measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest importance to the honor of the crown, and to the most essential national interests, and this founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court may further intend to do, was the cause of my resigning the seals. Lord Temple and I submitted in writing, and signed by us, our most humble sentiments to his majesty, which being overruled by the united opinion of all the rest of the king's servants, I resigned the seals on the 5th of this month, in order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide. Most public marks of his majesty's approbation of my services *followed* my resignation; they are unmerited and unsolicited, and I shall ever be proud to have received them from the best of sovereigns.

'I will now only add, my dear sir, that I have explained these matters only for the honor of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who, with a credulity as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success, and who justly reveres the upright and candid

judgment of it; little solicitous about the censures of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind friendship, and believe me ever, with truth and esteem, my dear sir, your faithful friend. W. PITT.'

'*Oct.* 14, 1765.'

On this letter I would only ask — Could Lord Temple have thought it for '*the honor of truth*,' that Mr Pitt should concert measures jointly with him and withdraw from the ministry, and then immediately accept the most public marks of court favor, to the exclusion, or rather, I might say, the desertion of Lord Temple? In corroboration of Lord Temple's testimony against Mr Pitt, I now give an extract of a letter from Mr Wilkes to the Duke of Grafton, then the friend of Wilkes; it is dated at Paris: —

'I believe the flinty heart of Lord Chatham has known the sweets of private friendship, and the fine feelings of humanity, as little as even Lord Mansfield. They are both formed to be admired not beloved. A proud, insolent, over-bearing, ambitious man is always full of the ideas of his own importance, and vainly imagines himself superior to the equality necessary among real friends, in all the moments of true enjoyment. Friendship is too pure a pleasure for a mind cankered with ambition or the lust of power and grandeur. Lord Chatham declared in parliament the strongest attachment to Lord Temple, one of the greatest characters our country could ever boast, and said he would live and die with his noble brother. He has received obligations of the first magnitude from that noble broth-

er, yet what trace of gratitude or of friendship was ever found in any part of his conduct, and has he not now declared the most open variance, and even hostility?'

Compare with this the passages inserted in my second letter (page 12, &c.), from Lord Temple's pamphlet.

This transaction is particularly alluded to in letter 3d by Junius in his Miscellaneous Letters, where he thus speaks of Lord Bute: 'It is worth while to consider, though perhaps not safe to point out, by what arts it hath been possible for him to maintain himself so long in power, and to screen himself from national justice. Some of them have been obvious enough; the rest may without difficulty be guessed at. But whatever they are, it is not a twelve-month ago, since they might have all been defeated, and the venomous spider itself caught and trampled on in its own webs. It was then his good fortune to corrupt one man, from whom we least of all expected so base an apostacy.* Who indeed could have suspected, that it should ever consist with the spirit or understanding of that person, to accept of a share of power under a pernicious court minion, whom he himself had affected to detest and despise, as much as he knew he was detested and despised by the whole nation? I will not censure him for the avarice of a pension, nor the melancholy ambition of a title. These were objects which he perhaps looked up to, though the rest of the world thought them far beneath his acceptance. But, to become the stalking horse of a stallion, to shake hands with a Scotchman at the hazard of catching all his

* The Earl of Chatham.

infamy; to fight under his auspices against the constitution; and to receive the word from him, prerogative and a thistle; (by the once respected name of Pitt!) it is even below contempt.' *

The above letter is dated 24th June, 1767, a little short of a *twelve-month* after Lord Temple and Mr Pitt's meeting for the purpose of forming an administration; when, disagreeing in their views, the interview was broken off by Lord Temple as already stated. The Duke of Grafton obtained the appointment of first Lord of the Treasury, which Lord Temple (as Junius observes), refused, with 'disdain.' Before *Junius* commenced his Letters, Mr Pitt withdrew from the administration, as Junius says, in disgust; and he and Lord Temple *became friends.* I am, &c.

LETTER VI.

Sir,

Having in my former letters given little more than a general outline of the subject, I shall now ask your attention, more in detail, to the principal points of inquiry, which must be understood, if we would arrive at any satisfactory conclusion in this investigation. Among these principal topics, the strong partiality of Junius for *Mr George Grenville* and his political measures, is one of the most conspicuous; as will be abundantly evident by

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. 2, p. 466.

the following extracts from his letters at various periods, both before and after he wrote under his favorite name of *Junius*.

In his letter of July 30, 1768, which briefly discusses the controversy with the American Colonies, he arraigns the ministry in his usual tone, for their pusillanimity in not adopting measures of coercion towards the Americans, and in concealing from the public the real state of affairs in America, as well as justifying the Americans in their measures of resistance to the mother-country. 'Even after the combination of Boston,' he remarks, 'they would not suffer parliament to be informed of the real state of things in that province. They endeavored to conceal the most atrocious circumstances; and what they could not conceal they justified and when a paper, printed at Boston, was offered to the House, as containing matter of the highest importance for the information of parliament, the ministry would not suffer it to be read, because they knew it would be too bad to be passed over.' He then declares their motives for this conduct to be, 'such as weak and interested men usually act upon that they were determined to hazard even the ruin of their country, rather than furnish the man, *whom they feared and hated* [Mr Grenville], with the melancholy triumph of having truly foretold the consequences of their own misconduct. . . . *They dreaded the acknowledgment of his superiority over them*, and the loss of their own authority and credit more, than the rebellion of near half the empire against the supreme legislature we are at this moment on the brink of a dreadful precipice; the question is whether we shall still submit to be

guided by the hand which hath driven us to it, or *whether we shall follow the patriot voice* [Mr Grenville], which has not ceased to warn us of our dangers,' &c. *

With the same feelings on the 15th December of that year, he addressed a complimentary and dignified, but not fulsome letter, directly to Mr Grenville himself; † and, in July following, he again adverts to 'the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr Grenville.' ‡

So strongly marked is this attachment to Mr Grenville throughout, that the learned editor of Woodfall's edition of Junius with justice concludes — that 'of all the political characters of the day, Mr Grenville appears to have been our author's favorite; no man was more open to censure in many parts of his conduct, but he *is never censured;* while on the contrary he is extolled wherever an opportunity offers.' § And in another place, the same editor says — 'the warm attachment of Junius to every part of the conduct of this distinguished statesman may perhaps be conceived to import something more than a mere political concurrence of sentiment and to indicate an ardent personal friendship.' ||

Upon the supposition that Lord Temple was the author of Junius, this is fully accounted for. There was, as the letters indicate, 'something more than a mere political concurrence of sentiment' — there was, besides the ties of blood, 'an ardent personal friend-

* Miscellaneous Letters, 29; Woodfall's Junius, vol. 3, pp. 76–79.

† Miscellaneous Letters, 53. ‡ Junius' Letters, 15.

§ Woodfall's Junius, Prelim. Essay, p. 81, note.

|| Woodfall's Junius; Miscellaneous Letters, 53, note.

ship,' which, with the very slight interruption already alluded to, continued through life.

This warm attachment occasionally manifests itself both in direct, though tempered commendation of Mr Grenville, and in strong reprobation of those who were considered as the enemies of that gentleman, or had deserted, or been wanting in gratitude to him. Thus, in his 44th letter, dated April 22, 1771, in speaking of a distinguished character of the day, Mr Wedderburne, whose severe but unjustifiable attack on Dr Franklin is familiar to every reader, Junius says — 'To write for profit without taxing the press — to write for fame and to be unknown — to support the intrigues of faction and to be disowned as a dangerous auxiliary by every party in a kingdom, are contradictions which the minister must reconcile before I forfeit my credit with the public. I may quit the service, but it would be absurd to suspect me of desertion. The reputation of these papers is an honorable pledge for my attachment to the people. *To sacrifice a respected character and to renounce the esteem of society*, requires more than Mr Wedderburne's resolution; and, though in him it was rather a profession than a desertion of his principles (I speak tenderly of this gentleman, for when *treachery* is in question, I think we should make allowances for a Scotchman), yet we have seen him in the House of Commons, overwhelmed with confusion, and almost bereft of his faculties.' On which the editor of Woodfall's Edition has this note: 'Mr Wedderburne, progressively Baron Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn, had on the 12th of Jan. preceding the date of this letter, been promoted to the offices of Solicitor General

and Cofferer to the queen. His politics may, therefore, be ascertained without trouble; yet he had been inducted into public life, *under the auspices of George Grenville, after the latter had professed the principles of whiggism*, and while he was a partisan of Lord Rockingham; and it is to this defection from the tenets Mr Wedderburne avowed till this period, that our author here alludes.'

The editor of Heron's Junius also observes on this letter — that Mr Wedderburne 'had taken a very active and zealous part *against* administration in the case of the *Middlesex election*. But George Grenville died on the 13th of November, 1770. His death proved fortunate to administration; for it produced a defection of his principal adherents from the party of opposition, and thus broke its strength. Among the *deserters* upon this occasion, to the ministry, were the Earl of Suffolk, who obtained the appointment of Lord Privy Seal, and *Mr Wedderburne*,' &c.

The writers of the above notes were not in possession of the whole reason for Junius's severity towards those who were not of the whig party. For Lord Temple had succeeded in bringing into his views, at this time, the great Lord Chatham, 'in whose imposing superiority of ability Lord Bute found no dependence of security;' and he had, also, the adhesion of 'the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr Grenville.' If with such as these he succeeded, without being known to them as the author of Junius, we may not be surprised at the terrible vengeance, with which he visits the former satellites of those primaries, which had ceased to be suffi-

ciently attractive to keep them revolving in what Junius considered to be their proper sphere.

The political sentiments of Junius have been already mentioned, in general terms; but to those persons, who have not a fresh recollection of his opinions, it may be proper to state them more in detail. From such a statement it will appear, that they were precisely those of Lord Temple.

An able writer in the Edinburgh Review justly observes — 'a simple test ascertains the political connexion of Junius — the only circumstance which he could not disguise, because it could not be concealed without defeating his general purpose. He supported the cause of authority against America — with Mr Grenville, who passed the Stamp Act. He maintained the highest popular principles on the Middlesex election — with the same statesman, who was the leader of opposition on that question. No other party in the kingdom but *the Grenvilles* combined those two opinions; and it is very unlikely, that a private writer, unpledged and unconnected, should have spontaneously embraced political doctrines, which, though ingenuity might reconcile them in reasoning, were, in the disputes of that period, the opposite extremes.' He adds, that whoever revives the inquiry, therefore, should show his claimant 'to be politically *attached to the Grenville party*, which Junius certainly was.' *

After the historical facts before stated, it is unnecessary to remark, that Lord Temple comes precisely within the conditions laid down by this reviewer; and in res-

* Edinburgh Review, vol. 44, page 5.

pect to one of the great political questions above alluded to — the treatment of the Americans — I beg leave to refer you to a note in Heron's Junius, on the celebrated letter to the king. Junius says — 'The distance of the colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well-affected to your government, as they once pretended to be to your person,' &c. On the paragraph from which this passage is taken, Heron has the following note: 'it should seem, as if, in writing this paragraph, Junius felt himself at a loss, whether to be of the opinion of Mr Grenville, or that of Lord Chatham, in respect to the treatment of the Americans. He avoids the declaration of his sentiments; but seems, from his comparison of the Americans to the Scottish Presbyterians, to have inclined to the creed of George Grenville.' *

On this note I would remark — that Junius *was at a loss*, as the writer supposes; and this could have been the case with no other person than Lord Temple. This letter to the king is dated Dec. 19, 1769; in 1768, Lord Chatham resigned the seals, and afterwards was reconciled to Lord Temple. In November following, Lord Chatham did not attend during the session commencing as above. The next session opened the 9th of January, three weeks after the Letter to the King, when Lord Chatham made his appearance for the first time after his reconciliation with his brother, Lord Temple.

But it will be said, by way of answer to the innumerable well-established historical facts and circum-

* Heron's Junius, vol. ii, page 59, note.

stances which support Lord Temple's authorship, that Junius himself has declared in his letter to Sir Wm. Blackstone — 'It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr Grenville, upon his own principles. I have neither the honor of being personally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely master of all the facts.' Upon this the editor of Woodfall's Junius says — 'this, as already observed in the preliminary essay, is a truly singular assertion when taken in connexion with the fact, that Mr Grenville, of all the political characters of the day, appears to have been our author's favorite. He voluntarily omits every opportunity of censuring him, and readily embraces every occasion of defending and extolling his conduct and principles.' *

Now it is to be observed, in the first place, that this declaration, of a party deeply interested, stands the solitary instance of any circumstance, which is at all in conflict with the supposition of Lord Temple's authorship; and, in the next place, to entitle this declaration to weight against all contrary evidence in the case, it must be assumed, that Junius never made any statement inconsistent with the existing circumstances of the moment. But this would be assuming too much, and what we know was not the fact. Like other writers desirous of concealment, he sometimes found himself under the necessity of resorting to expedients inconsistent with the general tenor of his language and conduct. We have it under Junius's own hand, that on one occasion he did request Mr Woodfall to dis-

* Letter 18, vol. i, page 533, Woodfall's Edition.

avow, in cautious or equivocating language, a letter which was actually written by him and published under his proper signature. He says to Mr Woodfall — 'the last letter you printed was idle and improper, and, I assure you, printed against my own opinion. The truth is, there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly, than not at all. I wish it could be recalled. Suppose you were to say — *we have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed Junius in this paper was not written by the real Junius, though the observation escaped us at the time;* or, if you can hit off anything yourself more plausible, you will much oblige me, but without a positive assertion.' *

If, therefore, we are to understand his declaration, that he had not 'the honor of being personally known to Mr Grenville' — as applied to himself in his individual character, it must be considered as one of those feints or stratagems, to which anonymous writers are often obliged to resort in order to avoid discovery. In the case of Junius, that necessity was more urgent than in any instance of the kind; the boldness of his attacks upon various individuals had actually placed his personal safety in great hazard. In one of his letters, he says to Woodfall — 'I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days.' † And in another, he says to Sir William Draper, who had challenged him to fight him — 'As to me, it is by no means necessary, that I should be exposed to the

* Junius's Private Letters to Woodfall, Letter 8.

† Ibid, Letter 41.

resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though *you* would fight, there are others who would assassinate.' *

But this declaration of Junius is not necessarily to be understood as applied to the author, personally; he is speaking throughout, as a friend has suggested, in his assumed character of Junius; and, as such, his declaration was, no doubt, strictly true. This explanation is supported by an anecdote in the *Walpoliana*, which I here transcribe. Walpole says — 'I was informed by Sir John Irwine, that one day when he was at Mr Grenville's, Mr G. told Sir John, that he had that morning received a letter from Junius, saying, that he esteemed Mr Grenville, and might soon make himself known to him.'

Equally great difficulties lie in the way of those, who have supposed many other persons to have been the writers of Junius. As, for instance, those who have believed with Dr Parr, that Charles Lloyd, Secretary of Mr Grenville, was the author, have to encounter the express declaration of Junius, that he was the 'sole depository' of his secret, and that it should perish with him. The same difficulty exists in the argument of those, who assume that Junius employed Sir Philip Francis, or any other person, as his amanuensis; for, if he did, he was equally guilty of falsifying, as in his declaration respecting Mr Grenville. All these different opinions may be seen in the learned Mr Barker's copious work; as, at pages 29, 44, 110, 278, &c.

* Junius, Letter 25.

One of the writers quoted in Mr Barker's work, briefly considers the question, how far such declarations of Junius are to be considered as 'innocent and allowable;' and Mr B. himself, in a note, adopts the opinion that such acts do not 'merit the name of moral turpitude;' for which he gives us the authority of Paley, Burlamaqui, and other civilians. The venerable and learned Dr Parr also, without giving a direct opinion, seems to think them in some degree justifiable. He says — 'Do not suppose, that I have forgotten the fact upon which you lay great stress. I have little or no hesitation in supposing, that, under all the circumstances of the case, and from motives of personal regard to George Grenville himself, his friend and his secretary would venture upon falsehood, and Woodfall, knowing the importance of such disavowal, would record, although he disbelieved it. Woodfall stated a fact, and left his readers to their own conclusion, and it was the wish, *if not the duty*, of Woodfall, to keep us in the dark.' *

Upon the explanation above given, however, of the true meaning of Junius' declaration respecting Mr Grenville, it is unnecessary to settle this question of morals, even if it had any bearing on the point in dispute. Junius himself was fully aware of the difficult position of 'a man who honestly engages in a public cause' — 'honor and honesty must not be renounced, although a thousand modes of right and wrong were to occupy the degrees of morality between Zeno and Epicurus.' I am, &c.

* Barker's Letters, page 246.

LETTER VII.

Sir,

The question considered in my last letter naturally directs our attention to Mr George Grenville; of whose history, with a view to the present inquiry, it will be necessary to have more minute information than is generally to be found in those works, which give us an account of his public conduct. I beg leave to give you, in a very condensed form, such particulars as I have been able to collect on this head, and as will be of use in the present case.

Mr George Grenville studied law, and was called to the bar; but, under the patronage of his mother's brother, the Lord Cobham celebrated by Pope, introduced into the House of Commons. In parliament he acted with his elder brother (afterwards Lord Temple), with Mr Pitt, and Sir George Lyttleton. When Mr Pitt and Lord Temple retired abruptly from office in 1761, Mr Grenville was detained and persuaded to co-operate with his brother-in-law the Earl of Egremont, under the banners of Lord Bute. He became one of the Secretaries of State in 1762; in 1763, first Lord of the Treasury. He was considered the author of the American Stamp Act, and of the first persecution of Mr Wilkes.* He first attached himself to the *Tory* party, in consequence of marrying the daughter of Sir W. Wyndham, the confidential friend of Bolingbroke, and father

* Heron's Junius.

of Lord Egremont. He afterwards, however, became disgusted with Lord Bute; and, upon his resignation, firmly attached himself to the party of Lord Rockingham; the most pure and unmixed whig leader of his day, with whom also Lord Temple and Lord Chatham united themselves.*

In 1761, Mr Onslow having resigned the chair of the House of Commons, Mr Grenville solicited to succeed to that vacancy. He waited on the Duke of Newcastle, first Lord of the Treasury, nominally Minister. The Duke asked him, if he had mentioned the matter to Lord Bute. Mr Grenville owned he had; and added, that he had not only the king's approbation, with his majesty's assurance of the cabinet, but the approbation likewise of *all his own family*. The last part of this was undoubtedly a mistake, for the Duke of Newcastle was the first person who informed Lord Temple of Mr Grenville's overtures. Lord Temple and Mr Pitt were *exceedingly offended* with their brother, for having made an application to Lord Bute, without first communicating his intentions to either of them. From this moment *Mr Grenville separated himself from all his family*, and there subsisted *the most bitter animosity* between them until the month of May, 1765. During that period Mr Grenville attached himself, first to Lord Bute, and afterwards to the Duke of Bedford.†

When Mr Pitt and Lord Temple retired from the ministry, Mr George Grenville continued behind, very

* Woodfall's Junius, Letter 15, note; vol. i, page 507.

† Almon's Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, vol. i, page 305.

much to the disappointment of Lord Temple. Mr Almon wrote a letter to Mr Grenville, which was published, and passed to the sixth edition. It was answered by Mr Charles Lloyd, private secretary to Mr Grenville.*

In 1765 Lord Temple and his brother Mr Grenville became reconciled, through the mediation of friends of both parties; who declared, that this reconciliation was no more than *a family friendship*, as brothers; and on public principles, only as to measures in future.†

When Mr Grenville was appointed Secretary of State, he was under the necessity of soliciting his brother, Lord *Temple*, to permit him to be re-elected for the town of Buckingham; and upon his promotion to the Treasury, he repeated the same act of supplication. His generous brother said, it would have been a disgrace to government to have seen the king's first minister a mendicant for a seat in parliament.‡

'The reconciliation being made, Mr Grenville, unbosoming himself to his brother, related all the arts and clandestine steps of the favorite; which, if possible, increased his brother's ardor on every subsequent occasion he had to oppose Lord Bute.'§

This statement by Mr Almon, who says 'he received the most interesting part of these Anecdotes from Lord *Temple*, is important. It will be also kept in mind, that Mr Grenville and Lord Temple had become reconciled *before* the commencement of the Letters of Ju-

* Account of Life of Almon, London Magazine, 1806.

† Almon's Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, page 415.

‡ Almon's Anecdotes of Chatham, vol. i, page 377, note.

§ Ibid, page 415.

nius, the first of which is dated 21st of January, 1769; and that, notwithstanding Mr Grenville had belonged to the *Tory* party, and was also one of the first persecutors of Mr Wilkes, yet we find Junius who was the life of the *Whig* party, taking occasions to speak in the highest terms of the 'inflexible integrity of Mr Grenville,' and particularly to defend his character against the attacks of Sir Wm. Blackstone.

Mr Grenville died November 13, 1770, long before Junius completed the series of his Letters.

I am, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Sir,

We have seen the strong partiality of Junius for Mr George Grenville, and his agreement in opinion with him respecting the leading political measures of that day, even those upon which Mr Grenville differed from the party, whose cause Junius supported — the whig party. Junius, in opposition to their views, asserted the right of the British government to exercise the supreme power they claimed over the American Colonies; so did Mr Grenville; yet on the Middlesex election, Junius, in opposition to the claims of the same government, maintained the very highest popular principles, and Mr Grenville was the leading man upon the same side with him. Junius also, in direct opposition to the friends of

liberty, asserted the legality of impressing seamen; he did it, however, with great apparent reluctance — as yielding to that paramount 'necessity' which nothing can withstand; and he makes claim to a charitable construction of his motives, by appealing to the examples of Lord Chatham and Lord Cambden, to whose conduct (on the American question), *he* was willing to give the same candid interpretation. 'I too,' says he, 'have a claim to the candid interpretation of my country, when I acknowledge an involuntary, compulsive assent to one very unpopular opinion [impressments]. I lament the unhappy necessity, whenever it arises, of providing for the safety of the State by a temporary invasion of the personal liberty of the subject But I never can doubt, that the community has a right to command, as well as to purchase, the service of its members Upon the whole, I never had a doubt about the strict right of pressing, until I heard that Lord Mansfield had applauded Lord *Chatham* for delivering something like this doctrine in the House of Lords. That consideration staggered me not a little. But, upon reflection, his conduct accounts naturally for itself. He knew the doctrine was unpopular, and was eager to fix it upon the man, who is the first object of his fear and detestation. The cunning Scotchman never speaks truth without a fraudulent design.'*

These opinions upon the most important questions of that day, sufficiently mark the politics of Junius; while his steady support of Mr Grenville leaves no doubt of a personal as well as political attachment, which will in

* Junius, Letter 59.

vain be sought for in any other individual than his brother, Lord *Temple.*

This supposition will receive further confirmation from a more minute review, than has been given in my former letters, of the connexion between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple, and other members of the Grenville family ; to which I shall now advert.

The character and relation which Lord Chatham bore to the transactions of that period, give importance to whatever Junius has said of him — particularly, the *different* opinions which Junius expressed at different times respecting him. I shall therefore bring together some of the most important circumstances of his life and of the most striking passages of Junius, particularly such as show the deep interest which Lord Temple took in his defence, and in supporting that honorable reputation of his illustrious brother-in-law, which has descended to our time.*

Lord Chatham, as Mr Pitt, came first into Parliament, in February, 1735, for the borough of Old Sarum. Having five sisters and an elder brother, his fortune was not very considerable ; his friends, therefore, obtained for him a cornet's commission in the Blues, in addition to his income. This apparently trifling circumstance of the commission was attended with important consequences. In parliament, Mr Pitt, Mr Richard Grenville (*Earl Temple*), and Mr, afterwards Lord Lyttleton, became associates, and for several years always *sat together in the House of Commons.*

* This account of Lord Chatham is abridged from Almon's work.

Upon every question Mr Pitt divided with his friends against the minister (Sir Robert Walpole), who was so much irritated by this conduct, that he made no hesitation of dismissing him from his office of cornet, as he had frequently done in the cases of other military officers who excited his displeasure. But this violent measure only increased Mr Pitt's consequence in the eyes of the public.

In 1744, when a list of alterations was made out for the inferior departments of government, Mr Pitt was proposed for Secretary at War; but when the king came to Mr Pitt's name, *he gave an immediate and positive refusal* to the whole list. In consequence of this, a general resignation was adopted; including Mr George Grenville; but in three days afterwards, they returned to office; and in May following (1746), Mr Pitt was appointed Paymaster.*

At the close of the session of Parliament in March, 1752, the king went to Hanover; and during his absence there was a great deal of intriguing and negotiating amongst all parties. But in every one of these negotiations, *Mr Pitt and the Grenvilles were totally omitted.* He was not ignorant of the clandestine projects of the ministerial and opposition parties; but he despised them. He was further disappointed in 1754, in not obtaining the Seals of Secretary of State, which he had not indeed asked for, but had expected without asking. This disappointment, however, was in some degree palliated by *making Mr George Grenville, Treasu-*

* Almon's Anecdotes, p. 147–151.

rer of the Navy, he being at that time in the utmost intimacy with Mr Pitt, who had become his relation, by having lately married his sister. But the next year (November 20, 1755), Mr Pitt *was dismissed* from office, together with Mr Legge and *George and James Grenville.** It should seem, as a biographer observes, that the king had long since conceived a prejudice against him, and had felt, that Mr Pitt was originally forced upon him much against his inclination.†

In 1756, the king felt himself under the necessity of calling again for his services, and accepted the terms proposed by him; which were — that he should himself be Secretary of State, *Lord Temple* first Lord of the Admiralty, *George Grenville*, Treasurer of the Navy, James Grenville, a Lord of the Treasury, &c. The king however was not reconciled to Mr Pitt. The circumstance which offended his Majesty most was, *Mr Pitt's refusal to support the army in Germany.* In consequence of this, the king commanded Mr Pitt to resign, on the 5th of April, 1757; and Lord *Temple was also turned out.* But this measure was soon revoked, and Mr Pitt and his friends again called into office. At an audience on that occasion it is related, that Mr Pitt said to the king — 'Sire, give me your confidence, and I will deserve it.' To which the king replied without hesitation — 'Deserve my confidence, and you shall have it.' And it is said, that Mr Pitt at last so won upon the king, that he was able to turn his

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. ii, pp. 181, 187, 205.

† History of the Life of Wm. Pitt, pp. 55, 86. Dublin, 1783.

very partialities in favor of Germany to the benefit of his country.*

While the war was prosecuted with the greatest unanimity and zeal at home and success abroad, the seeds were sown of those divisions which appeared soon after the accession of George the Third. The patronage of places was claimed by the *Earl of Bute*, who makes so prominent a figure in the Letters of Junius, and is so well known in the history of those times under the name of *The Favorite*. On the dismissal of Mr Legge (March 19, 1761), Lord Bute was immediately appointed Secretary of State.

Mr Pitt now saw and felt the strength of the new king's party; but he did not resign, because his grand object was *Spain*. He communicated to the cabinet his resolution of attacking Spain; Lord *Bute* was the first person *who opposed it;* he called it rash and unadvisable. *Lord Temple supported Mr Pitt*, which he had done uniformly from his coming into office; and he and Mr Pitt, on the 18th of September, 1761, submitted to his majesty their advice in writing, *to recal the British ambassador*, Lord Bristol, from Madrid. But after two different meetings of the cabinet, every other member of it declared against the measure; upon which *Mr Pitt and Lord Temple took their leave.* In consequence of the rejection of their advice by the king, they resigned.

'The most abandoned part of this business,' says Almon (who, it will be recollected, refers to *Lord Temple* for the most interesting parts of his work), was in

* Almon's Anecdotes, 218, &c.

the House of Lords, on the commencement of the first session of the new parliament, November 6, 1761; when Lord Temple said in the debate, that the written advice above-mentioned was not founded upon *suspicion* only but upon positive and authentic information of a treaty of alliance being signed between France and Spain. Upon which Lord Bute, *with astonishing and incredible effrontery*, got up and pronounced these words: My Lords, I affirm *upon my honor*, that there was NO intelligence of such a fact so constituted at that time.' This brought Lord Temple up again, who affirmed also *upon his honor*, that there WAS intelligence of the highest moment: that he was not at liberty to publish that intelligence in the House, but would refresh his lordship's memory *in private*. He beckoned Lord Bute out of the House, and repeated to him the intelligence which had been laid before the cabinet. In this conference, Lord Bute *found himself under the necessity of acknowledging, that he recollected something of it.'* *

On the 5th of October, 1761, Mr Pitt resigned the Seals; and the same day Lord Temple also resigned his place.

Immediately upon this, Mr Pitt was assailed with so much virulence, that he thought it proper to vindicate himself; which he did in the letter I have given at large in a preceding communication; † and he had the satisfaction of finding, in the course of three months, that Lord Bute himself was obliged to adopt the very

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. i, page 281, &c.

† See pages 42, 43.

measure of declaring war against Spain, and under the disadvantages of all that delay which his opposition to Mr Pitt had caused.

At this period an occurrence took place, which led to an entire separation, for a time, of Lord Chatham, and his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, from Mr George Grenville. It will be necessary to advert to it, in order to be possessed of the actual state of feeling among the members of the family, and to enable us to understand and apply the remarks which occur in Junius's Letters.

It was understood that Mr Legge was to be turned out; and Mr *Grenville* expressed to his brothers his desire to succeed him; but Mr Pitt *took no notice* of his wishes; upon which *a coolness* commenced between them. A particular account of the affair is given by Almon; who, I beg leave to repeat, says he 'received the most interesting parts' of his *Anecdotes* from Lord Temple himself. He says—'This disappointment occasioned Mr Grenville to direct his attention to another interest. Mr Onslow having resigned the chair of the House of Commons, Mr *Grenville* solicited to succeed to that vacancy. He was at this time treasurer of the navy, and had been in that post about seven years, and in other places. He waited upon the Duke of Newcastle, who being still first Lord of the Treasury, was nominally minister. The Duke asked him, if he had mentioned the matter to Lord Bute. Mr Grenville owned he had; and added, that he had not only the king's approbation, with his Majesty's gracious assurance of the cabinet, *but the approbation likewise of all his own family*. The last part of this assurance was

undoubtedly a mistake; for the Duke of Newcastle was the first person *who informed Lord Temple* of Mr Grenville's overtures. Lord Temple and Mr Pitt were *exceedingly offended* with their brother for having made an application to Lord Bute, without *first communicating* his intentions to either of them. From this moment *Mr Grenville* separated himself from all his family; and there subsisted *the most bitter animosity* between them until the month of May, 1765. During that period, Mr Grenville attached himself first to Lord Bute, and afterwards to the Duke of Bedford.' *

Under this state of feeling it is not surprising that Mr Pitt, in the debate upon the bill for laying an excise upon cider and perry, should have indulged himself in a memorable sarcasm, even at the expense of his relative, Mr Grenville. Mr Pitt strongly opposed the bill, as introducing the odious power of violating a man's dwelling-house, which was his castle. Mr Grenville, in his answer, contended that the tax was necessary, and asked why the right honorable gentleman did not tell where another could be laid instead of it; repeating, with a strong emphasis, two or three times, *Tell me where you can lay another tax.* Mr Pitt replied, in a musical tone, *Gentle shepherd, tell me where;* and the whole House burst out into a fit of laughter, which continued some minutes.†

The position, in which Lord Bute now found himself, with a divided cabinet, compelled him to retire from office, on the 8th of April, 1763, and made Mr Gren-

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. i, p. 305.

† Ibid, p. 369.

ville his successor. In the following month of August, however, he personally waited on Mr Pitt, with a view to forming a new administration; but the project failed.

On the 15th of November, 1763, Parliament met; and the case of Mr Wilkes's *North Briton* was the first subject of attention. The House of Commons immediately voted it to be a libel; and Mr Wilkes made complaint of a breach of privilege. Mr Pitt, in that debate, disclaimed in the strongest terms, all connexion with the man who could be the author of such a publication — 'It was true, that he had friendships, and warm ones; he had obligations, and great ones; but no friendship, no obligations, could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed he alluded to his noble relation (Lord Temple).* He was proud to call him his relation, he was his friend, his bosom friend, whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue. They went into office together, and they came out together; they had lived together, and would die together. He knew nothing of any connexion with the writer of the libel. If there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it.' †

We are now arrived at a period, in the life of Mr Pitt, more immediately connected with the subject of Junius's Letters; and it will be necessary to attend more minutely to the dates of the various occurrences, that must be kept in mind, in order to establish the identity of Junius and Lord Temple, so far as it may be inferred from the

* Lord Temple was reputed to be one of the writers in the North Briton. *Edit.*

† Almon's Anecdotes, vol. i, p 397.

conduct of the latter towards his illustrious relative, as well as towards other individuals of rank and influence at this time.

In the early part of the year 1765 the Earl of Bute, as it was alleged, had determined to effect a change of ministers.* His wish was, to bring Mr Pitt into office; a project, which had failed in 1763, through his own cowardice. This year he resolved not to appear in the measure; and the better to conceal himself and to give greater weight to his design, he put the negotiations into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland.

Mr Pitt having declared in Parliament, that he would live and die with his brother (Lord Temple), the confidential contrivers of this second project to bring in Mr Pitt, resolved to apply to Lord Temple, which was considered the most essential step towards gaining Mr Pitt. Accordingly on the 15th of May, 1765, the Duke of Cumberland sent for Lord *Temple* from Stowe, and also for Mr James *Grenville*. The Duke informed Lord Temple, that the king had resolved to change his servants, and to engage his lordship, Mr Pitt, and their friends in his service; but first he, the Duke, wished to know their *conditions*. Lord Temple stated — the making certain foreign alliances, the restoration of officers (civil and military) cruelly and unjustly dismissed, a repeal of the excise on cider, a total and full condemnation of general warrants and the seizure of papers. The Duke said these conditions *must* be agreed to; and then

* This account of the affair is abridged from Almon's Anecdotes, vol. 1, p. 411, &c.; and it was probably furnished by Lord Temple.

added, that he had a proposition to make — that it was the king's desire, that Lord *Northumberland* should be placed at the head of the treasury. Lord Temple replied, that 'he would never come into office under *Lord Bute's lieutenant.*' † *Here the conference broke off.* This proposition having been made in 1763, when Lord Bute appeared openly, left no room to doubt of his lordship's being still the secret mover of the present case.

On the 19th of May (1765), which was Sunday, the duke sent to Lord Temple, requesting him to meet him at Mr Pitt's house, at Hayes, in Kent. The duke was with Mr Pitt when his lordship came in, and had made the same proposition respecting Lord Northumberland, which Mr Pitt had refused as totally inadmissible; upon the same principle, that the refusal had been made by Lord Temple — *of which Mr Pitt had not, until that moment, received the smallest intimation.* He assured the duke, that he was ready to go to St James's, *if he could carry the Constitution along with him.*

The next day Lord Frederick Cavendish was sent to Mr Pitt, with an assurance, that the proposition respecting Lord Northumberland being at the head of the treasury was relinquished, *provided his lordship was considered in some other way.* Mr Pitt returned the same answer. Upon the return of Lord Frederick, the duke offered the treasury to Lord Lyttleton, who desired to *consult* Lord Temple and Mr Pitt. The duke was displeased with this answer; and, having immediately in-

† Lord Northumberland was at this time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

formed the king of the answers he had received, advised him to continue his present servants.

It will be observed here, that at this same time, about May, 1765, (as observed in a former letter) Lord Temple and his brother, Mr G. Grenville, became reconciled through the mediation of the friends of both parties; who declared, that this reconciliation was no more than *a family friendship* as brothers; and on public principles, only as to measures *in future.*

Among the consequences of this reconciliation was this, that Mr Grenville unbosomed himself to his brother, and related all the arts and clandestine steps which had been taken by Lord Bute. This, it is said, if possible, increased his brother's ardor on every subsequent occasion that he had to oppose the Favorite; and was doubtless one of the means, directly or indirectly, of Junius's obtaining that minute information, on points of secret history, which appears in his Letters.

In consequence of this hostility to Lord Bute, the king himself undertook a new negotiation. He sent for Mr Pitt, who had an audience on the 20th of June, 1765. The consequence of this was, the sending for Lord *Temple;* and on the 25th they waited on the king, when the following conditions were proposed to them :

'1. Mr Stuart Mackenzie to be restored.

'2. Lord Northumberland to be lord chamberlain.

'3. The king's friends to continue in their present situations.'

To the two first conditions Mr Pitt was not averse. Respecting the last he wished some explanation. *But Lord Temple declared against the whole.* Upon which the conference ended.

I add here a fact, stated in the work already quoted, that shows the high estimation in which Lord Temple was held by Mr Pitt, and the deference which that illustrious statesman had for his opinions. The fact I allude to is this — that 'upon mature consideration Mr Pitt changed his sentiments on the two first conditions, *and perfectly agreed with his brother.*' *

This negotiation of the king himself having failed, and his majesty having resolved to part with his present servants at any rate, the Duke of Cumberland was authorised to form an administration; and the Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis of Rockingham, and their friends accepted the duke's invitation.

Mr Pitt himself did not fully approve of the new ministry's acceptance; and Lord Temple *condemned them in acrimonious terms;* alleging, that if they had followed the example of Mr Pitt and himself in refusing office, the *Favorite* would have been brought to their own terms, which would have excluded him and his friends from every situation of *secret communication* with the sovereign; that now, his influence was only suspended. The new ministry, however, might have reasoned, that in the present unhappy partiality of the king, the constitutional exercise of the powers of government was to be obtained by degrees, not by hazarding a violent convulsion of the state; to which point some of them feared Lord Temple's inflexibility might possibly extend.†

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. 1, p. 418.

† Ibid, vol. 1, p. 421.

LETTER IX.

SIR,

We have seen, that thus far Lord Temple and Mr Pitt continued to be on terms of friendly intercourse; and, with some differences of opinion on particular measures, may be said to have acted in concert. But this state of things was now about to be changed.*

Parliament met on the 17th of December, 1765, but adjourned to the 14th of January, 1766. The new ministry having an inclination to reverse the system of their predecessors, Lord Bute, who was its author, determined to effect their removal. He was no longer terrified by the threats of an impeachment; and the Duke of Bedford had ceased to be an object of dread or respect. Lord Bute's attention was now directed to another nobleman. Since the reconciliation between Lord Temple and his brother, Mr Grenville, *a coolness had commenced* between *his lordship and Mr Pitt*, and between his lordship and *Mr James Grenville*. They imagined from several circumstances, that their brother had supplanted them in his lordship's favor and confidence.

To dissolve all great connexions had ever been Lord Bute's favorite maxim. Nothing, therefore, could be more fortunate for him than this *family division*. He resolved to seize the opportunity. Accordingly, a few days after the meeting of Parliament, when Mr Pitt had given the decision for the repeal of the American

* This historical narrative is taken principally from the work just cited.

Stamp Act, *which Mr Grenville had opposed*, Lord Bute solicited an interview with Lord Temple and Mr Grenville, in order to form a new administration.

His first application was to Lord Eglintoun, between whom and Lord Temple there subsisted a very warm friendship. Lord Eglintoun opened his commission to Lord Temple at Lord Coventry's, where they dined on the first Sunday after the meeting of Parliament. The conversation began upon the affairs of America, in which the three lords agreed in opinion, that a repeal of the Stamp Act would be a surrender of the authority of the British legislature over the colonies. Lord Eglintoun finding that Lord *Temple* was of their opinion, said 'let us talk no more upon that subject here, but let us go to your brother. Has your lordship received no message from him?' Lord Temple said he had not; and in a few minutes after they went to Mr Grenville's. This matter had been more explicitly opened to Mr Grenville, by Mr Cadogan (now Lord Cadogan), and Mr Grenville had requested Lord Suffolk to acquaint the Duke of Bedford with it. Upon seeing his brother, he instantly told him, without being asked a question, that *an opening had been made to him of an accommodation with Lord Bute*, and that he wanted to consult his Lordship upon making the Duke of Bedford a party to the affair.' Lord Temple replied, that '*he might do as he pleased, but that he himself* would have no concern in the matter.'

Thus ended Lord Bute's first attempt at turning to his advantage the family divisions of the Grenvilles, and bringing over Lord Temple to his views. But he was not discouraged; he only changed his channel of

communication to another. This was *Mr W. G. Hamilton*, who was in the most confidential intimacy with his lordship, and who, from the time of the separation of Mr *James* Grenville, was intended to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer, if ever he accepted of the Treasury. But Mr Hamilton, *knowing his lordship's temper and resolution, with respect to Lord Bute, did not warmly recommend* the proposition.

The next day (Monday), Lord Eglintoun went to Mr Grenville's to desire him to meet Lord Bute at his house; but Mr Grenville was gone to the House of Commons; upon which Lord Eglintoun went there to him; but meeting with Mr Stuart Mackenzie, he incautiously told him of the intended meeting, and that gentleman immediately informed Lord Holland; who, seeing Lord Bute, told his lordship, that 'he was going to do a very foolish thing; but as he had gone so far he must not stop, but give them the meeting, hear what they had to propose, and then leave them.

Lord *Temple* called upon his brother, just as he had returned from the House of Commons. In a minute or two afterwards, Lord Eglintoun came in, and, being rejoiced to see his lordship, begged he would stay there ten minutes, while he went home. Lord Temple said he could not stop so long, that he was going to the House of Lords upon particular business, and it was growing late. Lord Eglintoun then desired he would stay only five minutes. This was refused; lastly he requested only three minutes, and this was refused also. But in the explanation it came out, that *it was to meet Lord Bute*, who, Lord Eglintoun supposed, was by this time waiting at his own house, and he wished to

fetch him. At length, pressing the matter very earnestly, Lord Temple answered warmly, '*By G—d I will not*' — that was his expression — and immediately stepped into his carriage.

The Duke of Bedford and Mr Grenville met Lord Bute at Lord Eglintoun's. The conference was very short; Lord Bute followed Lord Holland's advice — he heard them — and then left them. He afterwards said to Lord Eglintoun, that *he did not meet the person he wanted to meet* (Lord Temple), but the *person he did not want* to meet, the Duke of Bedford. Sometime afterwards Mr Pitt mentioned this meeting in the House of Commons. Mr Grenville *did not deny it*, but said that 'the single proposition made, or point spoken of, was relative to the best means of preventing the intended repeal of the Stamp Act. No other subject was mentioned.'

Notwithstanding the ill success of this project, Lord Bute found means (as asserted by Almon), through one of the princess's confidants, to *amuse Lord Temple* with assurances, that a *carte-blanche* would in a very little time be offered to him; and this manœuvre was managed so well, *he was completely duped by it; he believed the assurances for some time.* The design was to engage him warmly in the opposition to the repeal of the Stamp Act; and he fell into the snare. *Having implicitly adopted the American politics of his brother*, the American politics of the Court became an easy, and almost a natural gradation.*

It now began to be evident, that notwithstanding the failure of these negotiations, yet the king still withheld

* Anecdotes, vol. 2, p. 6.

his confidence from his present servants. At this embarrassing moment Mr Wilkes returned from France to London, and had some communications with the ministers. A very curious and interesting account of this event and its accompanying circumstances is given by Almon, from *the manuscript of Mr H. Cotes* — the same person, it will be recollected, to whom Almon, in equivocal language, ascribes the Pamphlet of 1766, which I have had no hesitation in calling Lord Temple's; for, if he did not actually write it, with his own hand, he did, even according to Almon, communicate the 'particular facts' stated in that account of the conference and of the audience; and I have no doubt that those 'particular facts' are generally stated in the very language of Lord Temple himself. I am, &c.

LETTER X.

Sir,

We now come to an event in the life of Mr Pitt, which had important consequences, so far as related to himself and Lord Temple, and not less important as respects our inquiry.

In consequence of the opposition to the ministers, the king commissioned the chancellor, Lord Northington, to confer with Mr Pitt on the subject of a new arrangement.

This negotiation was opened through the Duke of Grafton and Mr Calcraft. Mr Pitt was then at his new

estate in Somersetshire, which had been given to him on account of his high character for public virtue and great talents, by Sir William Pynsent, of Burton-Pynsent, a baronet of ancient family and a large fortune, who left no issue. This estate, which was near £3000 pounds sterling a year, afterwards became the subject of contention in the law; and, as Almon says, this contention 'was countenanced *from a quarter* where, it might have been supposed, *the perversion of justice never reached.* However, it was of no avail; the will was confirmed.' * This 'perversion of justice,' in the quarter alluded to, was probably one cause of the severity of Junius towards Lord Mansfield and other eminent individuals who were supposed to have had an influence in controlling the administration of justice. But I return to the negotiation for a new ministry.

Mr Pitt was immediately sent for, and arrived in London on the 11th of July, 1766; the same evening he had a conference with Lord Northington.

The Duke of Grafton had lately resigned his office of Secretary of State, *and attached himself to Mr Pitt;* and had publicly avowed this attachment in the House of Lords. He declared, it is said, that he had no objection to the persons or to the measures of the

* Anecdotes, vol. 1, p. 407. It may not be uninteresting to the American reader, to know, that Thomas Hollis, whose name is so well known to us as a friend of civil liberty, had an intention, as it is confidently asserted, of giving Mr Pitt a similar testimonial of his regard; but he died before he was able to make the arrangement. He kept many workmen constantly employed in his service, and while giving directions on New Year's day, 1774, he dropt down in a fit and expired. *Edit.*

ministers he had recently left; but he thought they wanted strength and efficiency; and that he knew but one man who could give them that strength and solidity — *meaning Mr Pitt;* that under him he should be willing to serve in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer, and would take up a spade and a mattock. As soon as it was discovered, therefore, that Lord Rockingham's administration was not honored with the confidence of Mr Pitt, the Duke of Grafton and several other persons refused to give their support to it. Lord Rockingham's honor and integrity were not doubted; and 'it was admitted that his administration had been regulated and conducted on the purest principles of patriotism; but there was not virtue enough in the country to support him.' *

The negotiation now in question was not begun with Mr Pitt, under the immediate and personal direction of Lord Bute; but his influence pervaded through *a higher channel.* Those, says Almon, 'who assert that Lord Bute *was not consulted*, nor gave any advice upon this occasion, must forget all the preceding facts since the death of George the Second, and must deny his *nocturnal visits* at this time, to the king's mother at Carlton House.' †

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. 2, p. 19.

† Ibid, page 20. We insert here, from Almon's work, a most curious document, to show with what persevering and untiring vigilance every movement of Lord Bute was watched; a vigilance, which exactly accords with that minute knowledge of secret history, which has always puzzled the writers upon the authorship of Junius. Who could have furnished such a document to Almon? Could it have come from any other source

Lord Northington offered Mr Pitt a *carte-blanche;* but Mr Pitt wished to have it confirmed by the king himself, and was accordingly introduced to him at Richmond. The conference was short; the king confirmed the offer of his chancellor, and added, that *he had no terms to propose*, but put himself into his, Mr Pitt's, hands. This was on Saturday, the 12th of July, 1766.* In the evening Mr Pitt had another conference with

than Lord Temple? It certainly rivals anything to be found in the history of espionage:

'*An eighteen days' faithful Journal, ending a few days previous to the minister's shaking hands in the year* 1766.

'*Tuesday, June* 24, 1766. From Audley-street, the Favorite set out about one o'clock, in a post-coach and four, for Lord *Litchfield's* at Hampton Court, and came home again at ten at night; went out directly after in a chair to Miss *Vansittart's*, maid of honor to P. D. of W. in Sackville-street; staid there but a very little while, and then went to Carlton-house, and returned home about twelve o'clock.

'*Wednesday* 25. From Audley-street, the Favorite set out in a chair at half past six in the evening, went into Sackville-street as before, staid there till past ten, then went to Carlton-house, and returned home about twelve.

'*Thursday* 26. From ditto, the Favorite set out at half past six in the evening in a chair, went into Sackville-street as before, staid there till ten, then went to Carlton-house, and came home at twelve.

'*Friday* 27. At seven this morning the Favorite set out from Audley-street, for his seat in Bedfordshire.

'*Sunday* 29. The Earl returned from Bedfordshire this day to dinner; set out as before at a quarter past six for Sackville-

* The reader is here referred, by Almon, to the last three days, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, of the *Eighteen Days' Journal* given in the above note; and the reference deserves attention. *Ed.*

the chancellor, and afterwards with General Conway, with whom he settled the principal arrangements. The next day, Sunday, the chancellor by his majesty's command sent for Lord Temple, then at Stowe, his residence in Buckinghamshire. He came to town on the 14th, and, the next morning waited upon the king at Richmond, *before he saw Mr Pitt*. The king, after informing him of the offer made to Mr Pitt, added, that

street, staid there till about ten, then went to Carlton-house, and came home at twelve.

'*Monday* 30. From Audley-street, the Favorite set out in a chair a quarter past six, went into Sackville street, staid there till about ten, then went to Carlton-house, and came home as usual at twelve.

'*Tuesday, July* 1. From ditto, at half past six, in a chair to Sackville-street, staid there till ten, then to Carlton-house, and thence home at twelve.

'*Wednesday* 2. From ditto, ditto, ditto, and ditto.

'*Thursday* 3. At six this morning, the Favorite set out from Audley-street for his seat in Bedforshire.

'*Saturday* 5. The Favorite returned to Audley-street from ditto this day to dinner; at half past six went to Sackville-street, staid there as usual till about ten, then to Carlton-house, and afterwards came home about twelve.

'*Sunday* 6. At half past six to Sackville-street as usual, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve as before.

'*Monday* 7. At three quarters past six to Sackville-street as usual, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

'*Tuesday* 8. At half past six to Sackville-street, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

'*Wednesday* 9. At half past six to Sackville-street, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

'*Thursday* 10. This morning at seven the Favorite and his lady set out from Audley-street for Bedfordshire.

'*Saturday* 12. Returned this day from Bedfordshire to dinner, and, being Lord *Mount Stewart's* birth-day, he went out at *eight*

he expected his lordship *would assist* Mr Pitt in forming the arrangements. The next day, July 16th, Lord Temple received 'a very affectionate' letter from Mr Pitt desiring to see him; but, after an interview on the subject, as already stated from Lord Temple's pamphlet (in my second letter, p. 13), to which I would refer, Lord Temple was about breaking off the conference, because he found that he must submit to Mr Pitt's 'dictation,' and was not to come in *upon an equality* with him, as he had expected. Mr Pitt, however, insisted upon continuing the conference; but after various discussions as to the individuals who were to come into the administration, Lord Temple found his views still thwarted (as particularly stated in the letter just referred to), and that Mr Pitt still recurred to his first proposition, which was, as Lord Temple interpreted it, 'being *sole and absolute dictator*, to which no consideration should ever induce him to submit.' He therefore insisted upon ending the conference; which he did with saying, that *he thought himself ill-treated by Mr Pitt*, in not being allowed an equal share in the nomination.

The extracts which I have given from Lord Temple's pamphlet do not mention his subsequent interview with

this evening to Sackville-street, staid there till past ten, then went to Carlton-house, and returned home about twelve.

'*Sunday* 13. At half past six to Sackville-street, staid there till past ten, then to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

'*Monday* 14. At half past six to Sackville-street, staid there till ten, then to Carlton-house, staid there till past twelve, and then returned home.

'*N. B. The curtains of the chair from Audley to Sackville-street were constantly drawn, and the chair taken into the house.*' Edit.

the king. But it is necessary to advert to it; and I therefore add here a short account of it, which appears to have been taken from another part of the pamphlet. I take it from Mr Almon's work:

'Next day [July 17th] Lord Temple had an audience of the king in his closet, when his lordship told his majesty, in substance, "that Mr Pitt's terms were of such a nature, he could not possibly accept of them consistently with his honor; that he had made a sacrifice of his brother [George Grenville] *to Mr Pitt's resentment*, in order to accommodate with him, but that gentleman insisted upon bringing in a set of men, some of whom *were personal enemies* to his lordship, and with whom he had differed upon the most essential points of government; and would *not permit him to name one friend* for the cabinet, in whom he had entire confidence; and had assumed a power to himself to which his lordship never could submit — for if he did, the world would say, with great justice, that he went in like a child, to go out like a fool. That his wish was, to retrieve the honor of the nation by an administration formed upon a broad bottom, and composed of men of the best abilities, without respect to party, which his principal view was to extinguish; in order that the whole attention of parliament might be confined to the great objects of national concern. That he had never been a suitor to his majesty, either for himself or his friends, for any place of honor or emolument; he did not even seek the present offer; yet he was extremely willing to sacrifice his own peace and leisure, to the service of his majesty and the country, *provided he could do it with honor;* but *that*, he added, was in his own

disposal, *and he would not make a compliment of it to any man.*"

'In the evening of the same day the noble lord told Lord Northington, that the farce was at an end and the masque was off; his lordship need not have sent for him from the country, for *there was no real wish or intention to have him in the administration.*' *

I am, &c.

LETTER XI.

Sir,

We shall now begin to perceive the effects of this dissension between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple; and, upon the supposition that the latter was the author of Junius, we obtain a satisfactory explanation of one of the greatest difficulties in this question — that is, the opposite feelings, of enmity and friendship, which Junius entertained towards Lord Chatham. It will be found, upon attending to dates, that these changes of feeling in Junius took place at periods, which agree exactly with the periods of hostility and reconciliation between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple. I proceed with the narration of the facts.

With feelings thus strongly excited, by the offensive conduct of Mr Pitt, Lord Temple returned to his residence at Stowe. And though, according to Mr Almon,

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. 2, p. 27.

his natural disposition was 'the most amiable that can be conceived, to his friends,' yet, when offended, 'his disapprobation was warm and conspicuous; *his language flowed spontaneously from his feelings;* his heart and his voice always corresponded; and, with such a temper, it is not probable that the cause of his separation from Mr Pitt would either *be concealed* or *indifferently* expressed.'* The justness of this remark was abundantly verified in the publications which must have come from his pen, previous to the regular series under the name of Junius.

It will be necessary here to recur to dates. The separation between Lord Temple and Mr Pitt, it will be recollected, took place the 16th of July, 1766. The first attack upon Mr Pitt was the extraordinary publication, which I have called Lord Temple's pamphlet; it appeared immediately upon the open rupture between him and Mr Pitt, and was republished in the magazines for the month of August following. It is noticed by Lord Chesterfield as early as the 14th of August, in a letter to his son of that date. This called forth a reply, which Lord Chesterfield (in the letter just quoted) supposes was not written 'by Mr Pitt himself, but by some friend of his and under his sanction.' His lordship observes, that it gives an account of Mr Pitt's whole political life; 'and in that respect, is tedious to those who were acquainted with it before.' 'But,' he adds, 'at the latter end there is an article, that expresses such supreme contempt of Lord T——, and in so pretty a manner, that I suspect it to be Mr Pitt's own; you

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. 2, p. 27.

shall judge yourself, for I here transcribe the article: —"But this I will be bold to say, that had he (Lord T——) not fastened himself into Mr Pitt's train, and acquired thereby such an interest in that great man, he might have crept out of life with as little notice as he crept in; and gone off with no other degree of credit, than that of adding a single unit to the Bills of Mortality."' *

This sarcasm, if it was then understood to be Lord Chatham's, must have had no little effect in still further irritating the fresh wound made by his separation from Lord Temple.

The next publication against Lord Chatham followed this pamphlet, after an interval of a few months; I allude to the first of Junius's *Miscellaneous Letters*, under the signature of *Poplicola*, dated the 28th of April, 1767, and which I have given at large in my fourth letter.† The perfect correspondence in matter and manner between this and the pamphlet, particularly in the severity of the language, are too obvious to require any comment, and leaves no doubt that they were both from the same source. I cannot repeat here any parts of it, but beg leave to ask you to recur to the letter itself. In a letter of the following month, May 28th, 1767, under the same signature, he continues to show the same feelings towards Mr Pitt, then created Earl of Chatham. 'I cannot admit,' says he, 'that because Mr Pitt was respected and honored a few years ago, the Earl of Chatham therefore deserves to be so now and I am inclined to think, that Mr C. D. will find but few

* Chesterfield's Letters, No. 401. † Page 33.

people credulous enough to believe, that either Mr Pitt or Mr Pulteney, when they accepted a title, did not by that action, *betray their friends*, their country, and, in every honorable sense, themselves. Mr C. D. wilfully misrepresents the cause of that censure which was *very justly* thrown upon Lord Chatham, when the exportation of corn was prohibited by proclamation. The measure itself was necessary but to maintain that the proclamation was legal was such a daring attack upon the constitution, as a free people ought never to forgive. The man who maintained those doctrines ought to have had the Tarpeian rock or a gibbet for his reward. The conduct of the Earl of Chatham and his miserable understrappers deserved nothing but contempt.' *

Again, in a letter, signed Anti-Sejanus, Jr., dated June 24, 1767, he speaks of Lord Chatham's 'base apostacy;' and characterises his submission to Lord Bute — his 'shaking hands with a Scotchman, at the hazard of *catching* all his infamy, &c. as being 'below contempt.' †

In a succeeding letter, dated 16th of September, 1767, Lord Chatham is depicted as 'a *lunatic* brandishing a crutch;' ‡ and the same term is again applied to him in the tenth letter, dated the 19th of December of the same year. In this letter also, he contrasts with the 'treachery' and 'frantic fury' of the 'high priest' (Lord Chatham), the public virtue of Mr George Gren-

* Junius's Miscellaneous Letters, No. 2, vol. 2, p. 458–464. *Woodfall's ed.*

† Ibid, Letter 3, ‡ Ibid, Letter 5,

ville — 'there was indeed one man, who wisely foresaw every circumstance which has since happened, and who with a patriot's voice, opposed himself to the torrent.'

The same feelings appear in other Miscellaneous Letters, to the beginning of the year 1768, and perhaps to a later date. After the autumn of 1768, when the reconciliation took place, as I have already stated (at pages 21 and 29), the tone of Junius towards Lord Chatham became entirely changed. But before referring to the particular passages of Junius on this point, I will ask your attention to some of the intervening occurrences relating to Lord Chatham, some of which must have had a tendency still farther to alienate Lord Temple's feelings.

Immediately after his separation from Lord Temple, having made choice of the office of Lord Privy Seal, he was made a peer, which was announced in the London Gazette, July 30, 1766. In the formation of his ministry he experienced many embarrassments. His biographer, Almon, states, that before he could make his final arrangements, he made several offers to different persons of great consideration, with a view to strengthen his ministry, and to detach them from their friends. But, he adds — 'that superiority of mind which had denied him the usual habits of intercourse with the world, gave an air of austerity to his manners, and precluded the policy of a convenient condescension to the minutiæ of politeness and fascinating powers of address. He made an offer of Secretary of State to Lord Gower, *whom he had refused, when proposed for that office by his brother, Lord Temple.* He made

offers to Lord Scarborough, Mr Dowdeswell and several others; but in such terms of hauteur, as seemed to provoke, though unintentionally, the necessity of refusal. To the first, an abrupt message was sent — 'that he might have an office if he would;' to the second, 'that such an office was still vacant;' to a third, 'that he must take such an office or none.' The offers were all rejected. He then waited upon Lord Rockingham, at his house in Grosvenor Square; but Lord R. *refused to see him.*

'These circumstances,' continues Almon, 'chagrined him considerably. He now found, for the first time in his life, that splendid talents alone were not sufficient to support the highest situations; that the government of a party and the government of a nation, were as distinct in their features as in their principles. *He now felt the loss of his brother, Lord Temple*, whose gracious affability procured him the esteem of all ranks of people, while the splendour of his own talents commanded their admiration. These *two great men* united made a host against the world: but, when separated, they became the instruments of two factions; both of them without intending it, and for some time without perceiving it — Lord Chatham of the Court, and Lord Temple of the Opposition.' *

Of all the circumstances adverse to Lord Chatham's views, he is said to have most regretted *the loss of his brother, Lord Temple* — 'he now felt the loss of a repository of his confidence, the solace of his hours of affliction. Grief, vexation, and disappointment, preyed

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. 2, p. 29, &c.

upon his nerves; which, though in early life naturally strong, were now become weak by age and infirmity. His peerage had diminished his popularity; a considerable part of his ministry consisted of men, who had been appointed *through necessity*, not through choice; his mind was sometimes vigorous and sometimes depressed — his 'body tortured by pain and imprisoned by infirmity — he fell into a paroxysm of the gout at Bath, which seemed to threaten his extinction;' and in the month of February, 1767, while on his way to London, he was obliged to stop on his journey till March, when he completed it; but he was in so feeble a state that he could not attend to business.

I only add a remark or two further on the subject of his separation from Lord Temple. We have seen that this began on the 16th day of July, 1766, at the conference held on that day respecting the formation of a new ministry. It continued from that time to the autumn of 1768. In one of the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, Letter 35th, dated the 29th of August, 1768, after alluding to the other ministers, he thus speaks of Lord Chatham:

'I think I have now named all the cabinet but the Earl of Chatham. His infirmities have forced him into retirement, where I presume he is ready to suffer, with a sullen submission, every insult and disgrace that can be heaped upon a miserable, decrepid, worn out old man. *He is indeed a compound of contradictions*, but his letter to Sir Jeffery stands upon record. Lost as he is, he would not dare to contradict this letter. If he did, it would be something more than

madness. The disorder must have quitted his head and fixed itself in his heart.' *

Even at so late a date as the 19th of October, 1768, he appears to make an effort to repress his feelings of animosity towards Lord Chatham : 'The Earl of Chatham —I had much to say, but it were inhuman to persecute, when Providence has marked out the example to mankind.' Lord Chatham was at this time so severely tortured and worn away by the gout, that it was supposed he would never be able to resume an active part in politics. His lordship had resigned his post of Lord Privy Seal *three days* previous to the date of this letter, and was succeeded in that office on the 2d of November following by the Earl of Bristol.†

Now it appears from Almon's Anecdotes, that the reconciliation between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple took place *before the meeting of parliament*, which was on the 8th of November, 1768; and upon compar-

* Woodfall's Junius, vol. 3, p. 108. The reader will remark here the phrase 'a compound of contradictions,' which is also adopted in *Lord Temple's* pamphlet of 1766. To understand the allusion here to Sir Jeffery Amherst, it should be recollected that when Mr Pitt and Lord Temple were in the ministry, Mr Pitt gave as a reward, the government of Virginia to Sir Jeffery Amherst, and in Mr Pitt's letter to him, solemnly pledged the royal faith that his residence should never be required; it was given to him as a reward for his services for the conquest of Cape Breton. It was however *taken from him* at this time and given to Lord Botetourt, or rather given four days before it was taken from Sir J. Amherst.

† Woodfall's Junius, Miscellaneous Letters, No. 48, vol. 3, p. 174.

ing this date with those of the letters just quoted, it must probably have been effected between the 19th of October and the 8th of November.

But it is not important to fix this with any greater precision for the purposes of the present argument. It is sufficient that we know, they were reconciled on or about the 21st of January, 1769, which is the date of the *first* Letter of the series under the signature of *Junius*. Now from the date of the rupture, July 16, 1766, Junius, under different signatures, continued to pour out his vengeance upon Lord Chatham, till late in the autumn of 1768; but when the series of the *Letters of Junius* was begun, January 21st, 1769, this storm of invective abated; and from that period Junius began 'to like' Lord Chatham, and continued to speak in commendation of him to the period of his final eulogy, which has been so much celebrated, and which I have already quoted from his letter to Mr Horne, of the 13th of August, 1771 — being more than four years after his first attack upon him.*

The first instance where mention is made of Lord Chatham *after* the reconciliation brought about by their mutual friend Mr Calcraft, and by the request of Lord Chatham, occurs in the Miscellaneous Letters, No. 51, dated the 14th of November, 1768. Your particular attention is requested to this point: for here we find, that only a few days after the 19th October Lord Chatham resigned, and a few days after he resigned, Lord Temple was reconciled and they were friends. On the 19th of October, as above remarked, Junius's

* Junius's Letters, No. 54.

severity against Lord Chatham *had not relaxed;* by the 14th of November *it had* softened away, and we find no more invectives against him from that time.

In the Miscellaneous Letter just referred to, Junius says — 'The name of Lord Chatham's administration was soon lost in that of the Duke of Grafton. His grace took the lead, and made himself answerable for the measures of a council, at which he was supposed to preside. He had gone as far as any man in support of Mr Pitt's doctrine, That parliament had no right to lay a tax upon America, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue. It was a doctrine on which Lord Chatham and the chancellor (Lord Camden) formed their administration, and his grace had concurred in it with all his sincerity. Yet the first act of his own administration was to impose that tax upon America, which has since thrown the whole continent into a flame. The measures of the colonies are subversive of the constitution; they manifest a disposition to throw off their dependance, and vigorous measures must be enforced at the point of the sword.' *

'There is the same apparent inconsistency,' says the late editor of Woodfall's Junius, 'in his being ultimately the friend of Lord Camden, who is here [Miscellaneous Letters, April 5, 1768] held up to public odium, and to Lord Chatham, after having as warmly opposed him. But his change of opinion concerning these noblemen was by no means a sudden flight; it grew upon him slowly; and was the result of *their own change of conduct.*'

* Miscellaneous Letters, No. 51.

I may here call your attention to a remark made by the same editor, which shows a degree of inattention truly surprising. He observes, that the celebrated Letter of Junius to Lord Camden 'possesses the peculiarity of being *the only encomiastic* letter that ever fell from his pen under the signature of Junius.'* But what could with more propriety be called 'encomiastic' in the fullest sense of the word, than the splendid eulogy on Lord Chatham just alluded to?

Lord Chatham had for some time determined to resign. The appointment of Lord Hillsborough Secretary of State for the Colonies, was such an outrage of his American System, and the achievement of Corsica by France was such an abandonment of his European policy, that they were the principal causes of his resignation. He did not go to Court when he resigned, but sent the Privy Seal by Lord Camden. This was the last place he held under the Crown.† I am, &c.

* Woodfall's Junius, Prelim. Essay, p. 49, Lond. Ed.

† Almon's Anecdotes, vol. ii, p. 73.

LETTER XII.

SIR,

I have already mentioned, in general terms, the reconciliation which took place in the autumn of 1768 between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple; but it requires some further remarks, as connected with the authorship of Junius, and the subsequent public conduct of the former.

Lord Chatham, as before stated, had deeply lamented the difference between himself and his brother; and being now freed from the cares of office, and the suspicion of connexion with the court, he sought the friendship of his brother, Lord Temple, with anxiety and sincerity. He made Mr Calcraft his confidant. He confessed to him, that almost every body else had *betrayed* him; his brother had indeed abused him, but it was in the warmth of his temper, and in the openness of his nature, which was superior to all hypocrisy or concealment of disapprobation. Mr Calcraft approved himself a cordial and assiduous mediator. He accomplished their reconciliation; they had no more differences afterwards; and *they were, if possible, more affectionately united than ever they had been.* Mr Grenville perfectly acceded to the union.*

The respite which Lord Chatham gave himself from all kinds of business, and the happiness he enjoyed in

* Almon, vol. ii, p. 85.

the reconciliation of his relations, contributed largely, it is said, to the restoration of his health.

The next session of Parliament was opened on the 9th of January, 1770. The discontents which pervaded the whole nation, stimulated him to the most vigorous exertion of his talents.

A motion for an address was made. In Lord Chatham's speech on the address — 'He lamented the unhappy measure which had divided the colonies from the mother country. He owned his natural partiality for America That what he had heard of the combinations in America, and of their success in supplying themselves with goods of their own manufacture, had indeed alarmed him much for the commercial interests of the mother country; but he could not conceive in what sense they could be called illegal, much less, how a declaration of that House could remove the evil.'

In answer to the speech of Lord Mansfield on the subject of Wilkes's Election, Lord Chatham said: 'The Constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard, with horror and astonishment, that very invasion defended upon principle.'

The amendment proposed to the Address was negatived; but in consequence of his strong and public arraignment of the ministry in this speech, several of them resigned. Lord Chatham's information of the Cabinet Council, was supposed to have been derived from Lord Camden, who, at the time, was Lord Chancellor, and he having this day divided with Lord Chatham, the Great Seal was immediately taken from him. Mr Yorke was prevailed upon by his majesty to accept the seal; and in a few hours afterwards he put a period to his own existence.

The reader will recollect all along, that these are the times when Junius's Letters were being published; and that he is incessantly pouring out the strongest invectives, as well as the most overpowering arguments, against the ministry.

Notwithstanding the several resignations, some of them of the first families of the kingdom, which took place at this time, — notwithstanding the general dissatisfaction and ferment which prevailed throughout the nation — notwithstanding the recent and tragical death of Mr York — still the Court persevered in their measures.*

On the 22d of May, 1770, the Marquis of Rockingham moved for fixing a day to take into consideration the state of the nation.

The Marquis of Rockingham's speech was answered by the Duke of Grafton, to which Lord Chatham replied.

The House fixed on the 24th of January for taking into consideration the state of the nation. But, there being no Lord Chancellor, adjourned to the second of February. On the twentyninth of January, four days previous to the next debate, the Duke of Grafton resigned. Even this had no effect upon the Court. The Duke of Grafton's place was given to Lord North: he was now first Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Minister of the House of Commons.

* The petitions from America, which followed soon after those of the people of England, the Court still persevered against. But the Americans being further removed from the scene of corruption, were not debilitated by its poison. They retained the vigor and virtue of their ancestors. *Almon.*

Lord Chatham delivered a speech upon the Civil List and the dismission of Lord Camden. He said of Lord Camden: 'His integrity has made him once more a poor and private man; he was dismissed for an opinion he gave in favor of the right of election in the people.' Here Lord Chatham was called to order. Some lords called out, to the Bar, to the Bar! that Lord Chatham's words be taken down. Lord Chatham seconded the motion, and added, 'I neither deny, retract, nor explain these words. I do re-affirm the fact, and I desire to meet the sense of this House; I appeal to every Lord in the House, whether he has not the same conviction.'

Lord Rockingham, Lord *Temple*, and many other Lords, did upon their honor affirm the same.

It is an interesting circumstance to Americans in the history of this great man, that his disgust and indignation at the mismanagement of public affairs in England, excited in him a strong desire to end his days in America. In his speech on Lord C's motion for an address to the king to dissolve the parliament, he said, 'That though no man prided himself more on his attachment to his native country, yet the proceedings of this people who called themselves its governors, had rendered it so disagreeable to him, that was he but ten years younger, he would spend the remainder of his days in a country (meaning America), which had already given the most brilliant proofs of its independent spirit; nor should my advanced age, continued he, even now prevent me, did not considerations of the last consequence, my bodily infirmities, interfere.'

This anecdote of Lord Chatham's partiality for America, I may add, is evidence which is entirely consistent with the whole history of his conduct on the American question, and quite inconsistent with the feelings which Junius constantly expressed towards our country. It cannot for a moment be supposed, that Lord Chatham would, under a disguise, attack those very measures which in his public speeches and conduct, he was desirous to carry into effect.

The value of Lord Temple's friendship and co-operation was justly estimated by Lord Chatham; his opinions and personal services, while they were acting together, were of the utmost importance to his measures. It is truly extraordinary to see the opinions I have quoted from Lord Chesterfield in disparagement of the eminent talents of Lord Temple;* while Lord Chatham, in parliament, pronounced him to be '*one of the greatest characters*' the country had produced. Mr Wilkes, too, after praising Lord Chatham for his brilliant and successful public measures, in speaking of one of them which would have been of vital importance to England, but which Lord Chatham could not carry into execution — I allude to the proposed war against Spain — observes, that if the 'written advice' had been followed, a very few weeks had then probably closed the last general war; *although the merit of that advice* was more the merit of *his noble brother* [Lord Temple] than his own.†

* Page 8.

† Junius's Miscellaneous Letters, No. 2, note.

Although Lord Chatham and Lord Temple entertained totally different opinions upon some of the political topics of that day, yet it is apparent that the latter had great influence over the former. As, for instance, on the question of *triennial* parliaments, which Junius strongly advocated. Lord Chatham said, in his reply to the Common Council of London in May, 1770, 'I am bound to declare that I *cannot* recommend triennial parliaments.'* But he afterwards, April 30, 1771, came round to the opinion of Lord Temple; declaring himself then to be '*a convert to* 'triennial parliaments.'† Nor is this the only instance in which he first opposed and afterwards adopted the opinions of Lord Temple.

Opinions to the same effect from many anonymous writers of that time, might be here brought together; but they would, of course, be of little weight in comparison with those whose authors we know. I shall give one, however, because it comes from no partial writer, and yet is entirely in accordance with what I believe every reader will be convinced was the fact, if he examines the subject with care and attention. It is from a pamphlet entitled — 'Contrast of Whigs and Tories examined,' extracts of which were published in a periodical of the year 1763.

'With respect to my Lord *Temple*, I shall only observe, that as *the war and his management* of it, was the chief occasion of Mr Pitt's being so much distinguished, so his intimate connexion with the gentleman

* Woodfall's Junius, Letter 53, note.

† Ibid., Letter 44, note. See also Parliamentary Debates of that period.

abovenamed was, perhaps, the principal cause why this peer became so conspicuous and celebrated.' This opinion deserves the more attention, as the writer was evidently no friend to Lord Chatham or to Lord Temple.* I add, in a note, as a subject of some interest, though not immediately relevant to the present question, a list of some of the great events of that war, which, under the 'management of Lord Temple,' was prosecuted with such brilliant success.†

* Gentleman's Magazine, for August 1763, p. 400.

† *Places taken.*

Emden recovered from the French. — Senegal taken.

Louisburg, Cape Breton, St Johns, Fort Frontenac, Fort Duquesne, Goree, Massulipatam, Guadaloupe, Marie-Galante, Desirade, Niagara, Ticonderoga, Surat, Crown Point Quebec, Montreal, and all Canada.

Dumet, Dominique, Pondicherry, Belleisle, Martinique, Grenada, St Lucie, and the Havana; though this last was after he resigned, yet it was in consequence of his plans.

The French army defeated at Crevelt, and at Minden; and all the French power in India destroyed.

Shipping

Destroyed at St Maloes'; Bason and shipping destroyed at Cherburg.

D'Ache's fleet defeated.

Du Quesne's fleet taken.

French fleet drove ashore at Rochfort by Admiral Hawke.

Shipping destroyed at Havre.

French fleet under De la Clue taken by Admiral Boscawen.

French fleet completely defeated at Quiberon bay.

Thurot killed and his three frigates taken.

At Bay of Chaleur; frigates and stores destroyed.

Add to these taken during the war, 44 ships of the line, 61 frigates, 26 sloops of war — and her commerce and nine tenths of the royal navy destroyed.

In the review we have taken we cannot but be struck with the remarkable fact, how exactly the various occurrences in the political and private relations of Lord Chatham and Lord Temple, from time to time, correspond to the various changes in feelings and temper, which show themselves in regard to the former, throughout the letters written by Junius *before and after* he adopted that well-known name as his constant signature. The results which I have thus obtained from a comparison of dates and circumstances made with much care and patience, have satisfied me, that Lord Temple must have been the author of the celebrated work in question. They have consequently at the same time, convinced me, that, notwithstanding the ingenious arguments which have been hitherto published by some writers, Lord Chatham himself *could not* have been the author. What will be produced by one of our own countrymen,* who is said to have an extensive work in the press in support of Lord Chatham's claims, I know not; but I cannot yet bring myself to believe it possible for the most ingenious and subtle writer to give even plausibility to that supposition, if the reader will be at the trouble of comparing with it the irresistible arguments in support of the claims of Lord Temple. Indeed I cannot but say, that, so far as I have examined the question, the advocates of Lord Chatham have as great difficulties to contend with, as the advocates of some of the other claimants. While on the contrary, the hypothesis, that Lord Temple was the author, is attended with fewer difficulties than the case of any

* Dr B. Waterhouse is the writer here alluded to. *Edit.*

other individual; indeed, as it strikes my mind, with no difficulties at all. I can truly affirm, that after the most patient study of the subject for many years, I am not able to discover any one circumstance of importance, that is not perfectly consistent with his having been the writer. He had adequate motives for his inquisitorial scrutiny of men and measures, and had talents to make it with effect — while the peculiarities of his political relations serve to distinguish him from all other competitors, whose motives and ability might otherwise give them as strong a claim to the authorship.

I am, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Sir,

After the very full consideration given in my preceding letters to the relation in which Lord Temple stood to Lord Chatham and Mr George Grenville, it will not be necessary to make so minute an examination in respect to some other individuals, who in their turns became the subject of Junius's letters. But if we pursue the inquiry in relation to those individuals, we shall still find everything consistent with the supposition of Lord Temple's being the author of Junius; and, on the contrary, many circumstances wholly inconsistent with the claims of any other person.

Among those individuals with whom Junius thus came in contact, the *Favorite*, as he was called in the language of the day, that is, John Stuart, Earl of Bute, was one of the most obnoxious.

This nobleman, in addition to his being a Scotchman, which of itself seems to have been enough to call down the wrath of Junius upon any man, was well known to have had a commanding influence over the late king, George the Third, who had then recently come to the throne. The tuition of the king, while prince, had been committed to Lord Bute. During the life of his grandfather, the prince had been brought up in a state of retirement, and was totally free from juvenile excesses. His filial, paternal, and other affections, were very strong. Those whom he loved, he loved fervently; *in that number was his tutor, the Earl of Bute.** A biographer of Lord Chatham says that the Earl of Bute's 'temper was recluse and reserved. The sciences to which he was attached were those that consist in cold and minute investigation. He was hesitating, prevaricating, and timid With that conceit of his own talents, which solitude is calculated to inspire, he formed no less a plan than to drive from the helm of affairs the most popular — I had almost said the ablest — minister by whom it was ever guided; and to seize once for all the government of a mighty kingdom. He began by turning to account that dislike, which was insensibly gaining ground, to the Continental System. He carefully disseminated those principles, and held forth his pupil as the deliverer of England from so enor-

* Bissett's History of George III, vol. i, ch. 1.

mous a burden. In the next place, he examined the materials of which the administration was composed. They were heterogeneous and dissimilar. Nothing but the predominant abilities of Mr Pitt had kept them together for so long a time. Of the two leaders, Mr Fox had a personal animosity to the Secretary; and the Duke of Newcastle looked back with regret to the time in which he had so impotently wielded the government of his country without control. The path of the Favorite was, in this case, obvious and easy. He entered into an intimate connexion with Mr Fox Of the Duke of Newcastle, weak and aspiring, he bought the assistance at a cheaper rate, by flattering the fond expectations he had formed from the fall of his rival.

'The influence of the Secretary was now sensibly declining. One of the most striking symptoms, and which ought to have given him the most serious alarm, was the dismission of his faithful associate, Mr Legge, from the superintendency of the finances. But, as he had always acted alone, and not enlisted himself in a party, so he seems never to have formed any violent attachments. He probably considered his influence as of a species of its own, and necessarily uncontrollable. The Earl of Bute was at the same time *appointed Secretary of State* with Mr Pitt.'

At length, in one of his most important measures, his proposed anticipation of Spain in the declaration of war before mentioned, Mr Pitt found himself suddenly and invincibly prevented. He found the whole of the council, with the single exception of Earl Temple, dividing against him. It is said that this question was three times under discussion; but Mr Pitt finding his

efforts unavailing, in consequence, as he and his friends believed, of the influence of Lord Bute, resolved that this should be the last time he would sit in the council; adding the memorable declaration which gave great offence — that he 'could not remain in a situation that made him responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to *guide*.' Lord Orford (Walpole), in one of his letters of that time, observes upon this — 'He (Mr Pitt) and Lord Temple have declared against the whole cabinet council. Why, that they have done before now, and yet have acted with them again; it is very true. But a little word has escaped Mr Pitt, which never entered into his former declarations; nay, nor into Cromwell's, nor Hugh Capet's, nor Julius Cæsar's, nor any reformer's of modern or ancient times. He has happened to say he will guide. Now, though the cabinet council are mighty willing to be guided when they cannot help it, yet they wish to have appearances saved; they cannot be fond of being told that they are to be guided, still less that other people should be told so.' *

The Earl of Bute soon afterwards became first Lord of the Treasury and the director of affairs. But the resignation of Mr Pitt, effected under such circumstances, and the virulent attacks upon him, which were supposed to be patronised by Lord Bute, contributed to render this nobleman daily more unpopular. He was considered as an abettor of arbitrary power; as holding his office merely through favoritism, and as not entitled to it by his abilities, nor fitted for it by his prin-

* Lord Orford's Letters.

ciples. This idea of his arbitrary notions of government was farther increased from the place of his origin and his name. He was a native of *Scotland*, where there had been many Jacobites — whence he was supposed to be a Jacobite himself — and as a *Stuart*, attached to the exiled family, at least to their political doctrines. In his administration, he had frequently removed Englishmen of known and respectable characters, to make room for *Scotchmen*, who, however respectable, were not known, and were presumed to be the abettors of arbitrary power. Few ministers have been more generally hated than Lord Bute was by the English nation.*

With regard to the present inquiry, there were, as we have seen, strong reasons for the personal antipathy of Lord Chatham and Lord Temple towards the Earl of Bute. It is justly observed in Heron's Junius (Notes on the Letter to the King), that there was this, among other reasons, for the dismissal of Mr Legge, which has been alluded to. 'All whom Lord Bute could consult, whether whigs or tories, agreed in one common desire to see the pride of Pitt and *the Grenvilles* humbled, and to see them driven from office before they should be able to fortify themselves in it too strongly to be removed. But they could not be abruptly dismissed, and were therefore to be first gradually weakened. Legge was the limb, which their party would, with the least shrinking, suffer to be lopped off. He had shewn himself to be not absolutely incapable of betraying them, nor did he possess the whole confidence of Mr Pitt.' †

* Bissett's George III.

† Heron's Junius, vol. ii, page 49, note.

A conviction that Lord Bute had a settled determination of thus humbling the family of which Lord Temple was the head, would alone have powerfully stimulated the party who was the object of the plan. But there were various other occurrences, which particularly operated to produce this effect in the mind of Lord Temple. I will ask your attention to some of the more striking ones. On the occasion I have already mentioned (at page 65), a personal dispute between them, upon the existence of certain intelligence, when Lord Bute declared in parliament, *upon his honor*, that there was *no* such intelligence, which Lord Temple, upon his honor also affirmed *was* received; and he compelled Lord Bute to acknowledge that he 'recollected something of it.' On another occasion, while the excise bill was pending in parliament, the city of London presented a petition to the House of Commons against it; and moreover threatened to petition every branch of the legislature. Lord Bute was alarmed at the threat to present a petition to the king; and Sir John Phillips, one of his confidants, assured the city committee, in Lord Bute's name, that if they would withhold their petition to the king, Lord Bute would promise and engage upon his honor, that the act should be repealed the next year. One of the committee answered — 'Who can undertake for Lord Bute being minister next year, or for his influence over parliament?' This attempt to operate upon the city committee being unsuccessful, another was made, at a private interview at Lord Bute's house, where the same promise was made to Sir James Hodges, town clerk of the city, who reported it to the city committee in Guildhall; but they treated it with con-

tempt. The petitions were accordingly presented to the Lords and to the king; *but without effect.* The petition to the House of Lords was presented by Lord Temple, March 28th, 1763, and on the second reading of the bill, in the course of his speech he mentioned the above circumstance of Lord Bute's *tampering with the city committee.* Upon which Lord Bute got up and assured the House, that the whole was a FACTIOUS LIE. This assertion, as Almon observes, was not only too coarse but too strong to pass unnoticed. The corporation of the city of London immediately instituted an inquiry into the affair; when Sir James Hodges, the town clerk, acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the whole court, by a candid and fair narration of the preceding facts; and offered to make oath to them. From this inquiry, Almon adds, 'it was indisputably clear *who was the liar;*' and he subjoins, as a note on this passage, the following remarkable '*Portrait*,' which is evidently intended for Lord Bute. Almon does not inform us who was the author of this 'portrait;' but the sentiments in respect to Lord Bute, and the manner, bear a resemblance to Junius; and, if it had not been the production of Lord Temple himself, I have a strong belief, that we should have had from his friend Almon some information or conjectures as to its author.

'A PORTRAIT, DRAWN IN THE YEAR 1776.

'To draw a character so much beneath the honors of portraiture, would need apology, if the caprice of fortune in a fit of ill humour against this nation, had not, by giving the original a situation for which Nature had never designed him, raised him into notice, and made

him, in the consequences, an object of the public concern. It is only then for the most candid motive of a public utility, to atone for the ignobleness of the personage whose portrait is here exhibited; faithfully taken, feature by feature, without any the least caricature, and too fatally fulfilling the idea of a favorite without merit.

'Constitutionally false, without system, and in the most capital points, greatly to his own disadvantage, so; being in fact neither true to others nor to himself: Involved by the necessity of his nature, in that vicious circle of being false because weak, and weak because false.

'Reserved, inward, and darksome; sequestered in some measure from society, taking covert in the shades of embowered life, as the refuge of vanity from the wounds of contempt. Clandestine without concealment — sad without sorrow — domestic without familiarity — haughty without elevation; nothing great, nothing noble having ever marked his character, or illustrated his conduct, public or private. Reducing everything to his own ideas, that standard of littleness, that mint of falsity. Stubborn without firmness, and ambitious without spirit. A frigid friend, a mean enemy. Nauseously bloated with a stupid, rank, quality pride, without the air, the ease, the manners, the dignity of a gentleman. Ungenerous without any very extraordinary note of avarice; but rather so through that poverty of head and heart, from which so many people of fortune hug themselves on what they imagine *saved* by the omission of some *little* circumstance that honor, justice, or taste required of them, though by that *little* so saved they not only lose the *much* they will have sacrificed to their various objects of vanity, but where they bespoke admira-

tion find no returns for their expense but just censure and derision. And surely in this point of vulgar error, among the low understandings in high life, this poor man was not born to break herd.

'Bookish without learning, in his library of parade as insensible and unconversable on the great objects of literature, as one deaf and dumb questioned on a concert of music; as little of a judge as a blind man in a gallery of pictures. A dabbler in the fine arts, without grace, without taste. A traveller through countries without seeing them, and totally unacquainted with his own.

'In a dull ungenial solitude, muddling away what leisure he may have from false politics, and ruinous counsels, in stuffing his portfolios with penny prints and pretty pictures of colored simples, those gazing-traps of simpletons, and garnishing his knicknackatory with mechanical toys, baubles, and gimcracks, or varying his nonsense with little tricks of chemistry, while all these futile puerilities have been rendered still more futile by the gloom of a solemn visage, ridiculously exhibiting the preternatural character of a grave child. Bagatelles these, which it would doubtless be impertinent, illiberal, and even uncharitable to mention, were it not for the apprehension of his having inspired this most unroyal taste for trifles where it could not exist, but at the expense of a time and attention, of which the nation could not be robbed without capital detriment to it; a circumstance this, that must draw down a ridicule upon his master, not to be easily shaken off, and as much more hurtful to a Prince than a calumny of a graver nature, as contempt is ever more fatal to government than even fear or hatred.

'Too unhappily, alas! for this nation, chance had thrown this egregious trifler into a family, whom his domestic straits had favorably disposed towards him. How he maintained and improved his footing into a pernicious ascendant, is surely beneath curiosity. So much, however, it would be unfair to suppress that the attack on the fame of his political maker,* was not only treated by him with such an apathy as had nothing in it of a just and noble contempt; but to consummate the ingratitude, one of notoriously the first instigators of the scandal † was enrolled among his intimate confidants and supporters, without even this being the only appearance afforded by him of his not being infinitely displeased at the currency of the calumny.

'As to the royal pupil, who, by a much misplaced confidence, fell under his management at the tender age of susceptibility of all impressions, it was not well possible for him to prevent a deep-rooted partiality for a choice manifestly not made by him, but for him. In raw, unexperienced, unguarded youth, practised upon by an insidious study of his inclinations, not to rectify, but to govern him by them; captivated by an unremitting attention to humor, and perpetuate the natural bent of that age to the lighter objects of amusement; instituted to an implicit faith in the man who littered his head with trifles, and, unable to corrupt his heart, only hardened it like his own against the remonstrances of true greatness, while warping his understanding with the

* The writer of *The North Briton*, respecting the Princess Dowager of Wales.

† Lord Talbot, who was made Lord Steward by Lord Bute.

falsest notions of men and things, and especially of maxims of state, of which himself never had so much as an elementary idea; thus delivered up to such a tutor, how could the disciple possibly escape such a combination? What of essentially wise or magnanimous could he learn from such a pedlar in politics and manners? No one can impart what himself never had. Honor, gratitude, dignity of sentiment, energy of sincerity, comprehensiveness of views, were not in him to inculcate. Obstinacy, under the stale disguise of firmness; the royalty of repairing a wrong by persisting in it, the plausible decencies of private life, the petty moralities, the minutenesses of public arrangements, the preference of dark juggle, mystery, and low artifice, to the frank, open spirit of government; the abundant sufficiency of the absence of great vices, to atone for the want of great virtues; a contempt of reputation, and especially that execrable absurdity in the sovereign of a free people, the neglect of popularity; were all that the hapless pupil could possibly learn from such a preceptor. Moulded by such an eternal tutorage, imperceptibly formed not to govern, but to be governed; and from being the lawful possessor of a great empire, converted into the being himself the property of a little silly subject; stolen thus away from himself, what remains for us but ardently to pray that, before it is too late, he may be restored to himself; that he may at length enter into the genuine spirit of royalty, assume the part he was born to, and have a character of his own: May he quit a borrowed darkness for native light, never more to exhibit, in any the least degree, the copy of an original, whom not to resemble would surely be

the honor! Let him give us the sovereign himself not the favorite at second hand, or what is still worse yet, the favorite's *commis** at second hand! And in this deprecation of detriment and dishonor to himself, there can questionless be nothing disloyal or disrespectful.

'This testimony of a genuine sentiment takes birth too naturally from the subject with which it is connected to appear a digression; though in such a cause, and in such a crisis of the times, I should have judged even the digressiveness meritorious, and certainly alone the best apology for a portrait, the exhibition of which, from any motive of pique or personality, would be infinitely beneath the meanest of daubers.

'Here it would be perfectly insignificant to search out the distinction, without a deference to the public, whether or not the favorite, after that scandalous desertion, when he as abjectly sneaked out of an ostensible office in the state, as he had arrogantly strutted into it, retains individually by himself, or by his appointment of others, the power of continuing that infernal chaos, into which he from the first plunged affairs, at the time that, through his cloudy imbecility, it so soon thickened in the clear of the fairest horizon that ever tantalised a country with the promise of meridian splendour. It is enough to observe, that since his having delivered up, to his own parasites, that master whom he thus made the centre of their paltry cabals, and the prey of their sordid rapaciousness, it appears, at least from the identity of spiritlessness, of insensibility to honor, of want of plan, and of the total disorder in which we see things

* Charles Jenkinson, now Earl of Liverpool.

forever languishing, that the same destructive impulsion still subsists; while none could collaterally be admitted into any participation of trust, but such as would wink hard, and at least pretend not to see through that gross illusion, with which a natural desire of not appearing to be governed, might blind a Prince, without imposing on any but himself. The joke of holding committees with respective ministers of departments passes on no one. In vain would the master take blame upon himself, and father errors not his own. The wires of motion to the will have been too clumsily worked not to be seen, however they may not have been felt. Add, that the primary cause may, by the fairest investigation, be brought home to that unhappy man whom chance had thrown into a channel of power to do much good, or much mischief. The last he has mechanically done, without, perhaps, much meaning it, coming upon the scene with absolutely everything in his favor, except himself. All prejudice then apart, mark in him, to his Prince a tutor without knowledge, a minister without ability, a favorite without gratitude; the very anti-genius of politics; the curse of Scotland; the disgrace of his master; the despair of the nation; and the disdain of history.'

In addition to the preceding circumstances, showing the extreme animosity of Lord Temple against Lord Bute, I beg leave to recal to your recollection some others which have been before alluded to in another connexion. On the occasion, for instance, when he was pressed by Lord Eglintoun to wait only five or even three minutes (as stated at page 75), as soon as he dis-

covered that it was for the purpose of having an interview with Lord Bute, he uttered himself in the vehement language which has been already quoted (p. 76). At another time, when requested to take a place in the ministry, as soon as he was informed that Lord Northumberland (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), was intended for the head of the treasury, he declared that he would never come into office under *Lord Bute's Lieutenant;* and the conference was thus broken off. Again, when overtures were made for *an accommodation* with Lord Bute, he in the most decided manner declared 'he would have no concern in the matter.' And his confidential friend, Mr Hamilton, 'knowing his lordship's *temper and resolution with respect to Lord Bute,*' was unwilling warmly to recommend the measure (see p. 72). These feelings towards Lord Bute must have been not a little influenced by the belief, that notwithstanding all his caution and foresight, he was nevertheless, according to Almon, at last 'completely duped' by Lord Bute for some time, and fell into his snare.* If it were entirely correct, as here stated, that Lord Bute had completely duped him, he never could have sufficiently despised the act or its author. We cannot wonder, that the man who had so high a sense of honor as Lord Temple had, should not tamely put up with such a contemptible manœuvre, and which evinced such a total want of that manly virtue as Lord Bute had shown. Accordingly, the wrath of Junius against Lord Bute never abates; and of his hypocrisy he has such a thorough detestation, that even he can hardly command language strong enough to express his feelings.

I am, &c.

* Anecdotes, vol. ii, p. 6.

LETTER XIV.

SIR,

With such feelings towards Lord Bute it is not strange that Lord Temple should have entertained the opinions expressed in Junius's letters of the royal pupil, whose heart and head had been under the guidance of such an instructer. The education of this prince, the first Englishman born, of the reigning family, had been a subject of great interest to the nation; and the leaders of the different parties were extremely desirous to obtain an influence over him; but the influence of Lord Bute, for the reasons before mentioned, overpowered all others. In *Dodington's Diary*, there is a very remarkable *Memorial* on the subject of the prince's education, purporting to come from several 'noblemen and gentlemen.' We are not informed who was the author of it; but I believe it must have been written by Lord Temple; as I shall endeavor to show presently, by bringing into one view, the situation of the Pitt and Grenville party at the time, and comparing their language with that of the Memorial. I was fully convinced of this on the first reading of it; but I have since found some facts in support of this opinion. The memorial itself is so curious a paper, and is so intimately connected with the private history of these times, that I shall insert it at large. It is said to have been sent by the penny-post enclosed in a cover to General Hawley, on the 20th of December, 1752, and is referred to in Dodington's Diary (3d Edition, p. 200), which 'it will be recollected

was not published, when Junius wrote. The Memorial is as follows: —

'A MEMORIAL OF SEVERAL NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE FIRST RANK AND FORTUNE.

'The Memorialists represent — That the education of a Prince of Wales is an object of the utmost importance to the whole nation; that it ought always to be intrusted to noblemen of the most unblemished honor, and to Prelates of the most distinguished virtue, of the most accomplished learning, and of the most unsuspected principles, with regard to government both in Church and State. That the misfortunes which the nation formerly suffered, or escaped, under King Charles I, King Charles II, and King James II, were owing to the bad education of those Princes, who were early initiated in maxims of arbitrary power. That for a faction to engross the education of a Prince of Wales to themselves, excluding men of probity and learning, is unwarrantable, dangerous and illegal: That to place men about the Prince of Wales, whose principles are suspected, and whose belief in the mysteries of our faith is doubtful, has the most mischievous tendency, and ought justly to alarm the friends of their country and of the Protestant succession: — That for a Minister to support low men, who were originally improper for the high trust to which they were advanced, after complaints made of dark suspicions, and unwarrantable methods made use of by such men in their plan of education, and to protect and countenance such men in their insolent and unheard of behaviour to their superiors, is a foundation for suspecting the worst designs in such a ministry, and ought to make all good men apprehen-

sive of the ambition of these ministers: That it being notorious, that books inculcating the worst maxims of government, and defending the most avowed tyrannies, have been put into the hands of the Prince of Wales, it cannot but affect the memorialists with the most melancholy apprehensions, when they find that the men who had the honesty and the resolution to complain of such astonishing methods of instructions, are driven away from court, and the men who have dared to teach such doctrine are continued in trust and favor: That the security of this government being built on Whig principles, and alone supported by Whig zeal; that the establishment of the present Royal Family being settled in the timely overthrow of Queen Anne's last ministry, it cannot but alarm all true Whigs to hear of schoolmasters, of very contrary principles, being thought of for preceptors; and to see none but the friends and pupils of the late Lord Bolingbroke entrusted with the education of a prince, whose family that very Lord endeavored by his measures to exclude, and by his writings to expel, from the throne of these kingdoms: That there being great reason to believe that a noble lord has accused one of the preceptors of Jacobitism, it is astonishing that no notice has been taken of a complaint of so high a nature: On the contrary, the accused person continues in the same trust, without any inquiry into the ground of the charge, or any steps taken by the accused to purge himself of a crime of so black a dye: That no satisfaction being given to the governor and preceptor, one of whom, though a nobleman of the most unblemished honor, and the other a prelate of the most unbiassed virtue, have been treated in the grossest

terms of abuse by a menial servant of the family, it is derogatory to his majesty's authority, under which they acted, is *an affront to the Peerage, and an outrage to the dignity of the Church.** That whoever advised the refusal of an audience to the Bishop of Norwich, who was so justly alarmed at the wrong methods which he saw taken in the education of the Prince of Wales, is an enemy to his country, and can only mean at least to *govern by a faction* which intends to *overthrow* the *government* and restore the exiled and arbitrary house of Steuart: That *to have a Scotsman, of a most disaffected family*, and allied in the nearest manner to the Pretender's first ministers, consulted in the education of the Prince of Wales, and entrusted with the most important secrets of government, must tend to alarm and disgust the friends of the present Royal Family, and to encourage the hopes and attempts of the Jacobites: Lastly, the memorialists cannot help remarking, that the three or four low, dark, suspected persons, are the only men whose station is fixed and permanent; but that all the great offices and officers are so constantly varied and shuffled about, to the disgrace of this country, that the best persons ap-

* 'An outrage to the dignity of the Church.' *Memorial.*

'*Outraged* and oppressed as we are, &c.' 'Are *outraged* by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative.' *Junius*, 1*st Letter.*

Outraged — 'This is a participle, from a noun violently forced to act the part of a verb. Its use is not very compatible with genuine purity and correctness of writing. It is sometimes, however, highly energetic and expressive.'

Note to Heron's Junius.

prehend there is a settled design in these low and suspected people to infuse such jealousies, caprices, and fickleness, into the two ministers whose confidence they engross, as may render this government ridiculous and contemptible, and facilitate the revolution which the memorialists think they have but too much reason to fear is meditating. God preserve the King.'

In addition to the general tone and manner of this memorial, which strongly resemble Junius, I think the following extracts from different sources, tend to corroborate the opinion that the author of Junius, whoever he was, and the author of this Memorial, were the same person. They show, as indeed the whole history of the times demonstrates, a settled, unchangeable plan of Lord Bute, which he completely executed, *to keep possession of the king;* and, as a necessary part of this plan, to destroy by every possible means, the influence of the *Grenville* family, of whom Lord Temple was the head, and probably most feared. It will be well here, as in former instances, to attend to dates. The Memorial was sent, it seems, by the penny-post, on the 20th of December, 1752. I now give some extracts.

First, from Almon's Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham.

'*March* 30, 1752. The king went to Hanover; during his majesty's absence, there was a great deal of intriguing and negotiating among all parties. But in every one of these negotiations, *Mr Pitt and the Grenvilles were totally omitted* Mr Pitt's weight of character in the House excited the jealousy of the prin-

cipal persons in office. He treated the Duke of Newcastle in such a manner, that if he had not dreaded him, he would have dismissed him; for he held the post of Paymaster. The Duke complained of Mr Pitt's hauteur to his confidential friend, Mr Stone, who advised his Grace *to overlook it, saying it would be most prudent.*' Vol. I, page 218.

It must be remembered, that these anecdotes, as Mr Almon says, were principally supplied by Lord Temple. The wary reply of Mr Stone, discovers the true Scotch character, as drawn by Junius.

From Dodington's Diary:

'*December* 5, 1752. Lord Harcourt resigned being *governor to the Prince.* He offered to do so, unless *Mr Stone* (placed as sub-governor by the minister), Mr Scott, tutor in the late princess' time, but recommended by Lord Bolingbroke, and Mr Cresset, made treasurer by the princess' recommendation, were removed. The king desired him to consider of it, but Lord Harcourt continuing in the same resolution, the Archbishop and Lord Chancellor, were sent to him to know the particulars of his complaints against these gentlemen. He replied that the particulars were fit only to be communicated to the king; he waited on his majesty, which ended in his resignation.

'*Dec.* 18. Lord Waldegrave declared governor to the Prince; on 20th, sworn into office.'

22d. 'I was with the Duke of Dorset. We talked over the affair of the prince's family, and agreed that there must be a *counter story* of the *court* side, or the RESIGNERS *would run away with the public opinion.*'

28. 'I waited on the princess; she was pleased to send the royal children to prayers, and to stay with me. She said there had been fine doings in our family; there was such an outcry at two people leaving them, as if they were the most considerable men in the nation. That she knew nothing of Jacobitism being attempted or being instilled into the children. As for Lord Harcourt, she had hardly seen him three times the whole summer; the last time she saw him was at the birthday; he attempted to avoid her; she got between the door and him, and took him by the coat (Nov. 27), and said it was very fine; he said, Madam, it is all of the manufacture of Spitalfield, and so walked off. The Tuesday before he had been with the king to represent that her children were in the way of imbibing dangerous notions, &c. That he had no authority, and could do no good unless Stone, Cresset, and Scott, were dismissed; that they were Jacobites, &c., and had been bred so, and their families.'

'I told the princess of Dr Newton, a popular preacher of St Giles's, having received an anonymous Letter, setting forth the dangerous way the Prince's education was left, putting it to him as a duty to take notice of it in the pulpit; but I did not tell her of the anonymous Letter, which was sent to Gen. Hawley on the 20th Dec.; it was a sort of remonstrance to the king from the whig nobility, setting forth the great concern for the Prince's education, that government was entirely trusted to two, one of which had the absolute direction of the Prince, and was of a Tory family, and bred in arbitrary principles, and the other who was bred a professed Jacobite, of a declared Jacobite family, whose

brother was now at Rome, was a favorite of the Pretender, and even his Secretary of State. In short, the corollary was, that Murray [Lord Mansfield, then Solicitor General], and Stone governed this country. This letter was sent to Gen. Hawley, and by him handed to the Secretary of State. They very much intrigued to find out whence it *came, and who was the author.*'

Page 200.

Jan. 9, 1753. 'The Bishop of Peterborough made Preceptor to the Prince of Wales.'

Feb. 8. 'The princess said to me, "there is a story about of the Bishop having said, that Murray, the Solicitor General, when he was first appointed, told him that Lord Harcourt was only a cypher; that, as he (the Bishop) had parts and abilities, he might easily get the whole into his own hands; at the same time advised him not to omit so fair an opportunity: that she believed it a lie. *But if true, the Bishop must be a bad man, to betray the private advice of a friend.*'" This Dodington terms a very singular conversation. Page 212.

Feb. 15. 'The cabinet met, and sat late, on the strange imputation of Bishop Johnson's, Messrs Stone and Murray being Jacobites, and having drank the Pretender's health, at Vernon's, the Linen-Draper, about twenty years ago.'

March 3, 1753. 'The princess informed me that Mr Stone was determined to prosecute Mr Fosset for defamation; his council was the Solicitor General and others.'

6 'The Solicitor General informed me (Dodington), that he was brought in by implication only, that

Stone was principally meant and named by *Lord Ravensworth*, from what Fosset had said to him in private conversation. The solicitor seems much alarmed at the prospect of the repeal of the Regency bill, and said all I said was true, and *that they must act or be undone.*'

Page 224.

From Junius:

'His (Lord Mansfield's) patron, whose health he once was so anxious for, is dead; but the son of that unfortunate Prince survives, and I dare say, will be ready to receive him.' Letter 61, Philo-Junius.

'Lord Chatham told me more than ten years ago, that he thought Murray [Lord Mansfield], the worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom.' Wilkes to Junius.

Junius to the King.

'It is not, however, too late to correct the errors of your education. We are still inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the *pernicious lessons you received in your youth.* The plan of tutelage and future dominion over the heir apparent, laid many years ago at Carlton-house between the princess dowager and her favorite, the Earl of Bute, was as gross and palpable as that which was concerted between Ann of Austria and Cardinal Mazarine, to govern Lewis XIV 'A little personal motive of pique and resentment was sufficient to remove the ablest servants of the crown.' Junius. *Note by Junius* — 'One of the first acts of the present reign, was to dismiss Mr Legge, because he had refused to yield his interest in Hampshire to a Scotchman, recommended by Lord Bute.' *Note by Heron* — 'There was another reason for Mr Legge's dismissal.

All whom Bute could consult, agreed in the desire to see the pride of *Pitt and the Grenvilles humbled.* Legge was the limb which this party would, with the least shrinking, suffer to be lopped off. He did not possess their whole confidence.' Vol. ii, p. 49.

Letter to the King, again:

'Neither from America nor Ireland can your Majesty look for assistance. You are not, however, destitute of every appearance of support; you have all the Jacobites, Non-jurors, Roman Catholics and Tories of this country; and all Scotland without exception. Their zeal begins with hypocrisy, and must conclude in treachery. At first they deceive, at last they betray. As to the Scotch, I must suppose your heart and understanding so biassed from your *earliest infancy*, in their favor, that nothing less than your own misfortune can undeceive you.' Heron's Junius, p. 61, 62.

'The mistaken Prince, who looks for friendship, will find a *favorite*, and in that favorite the ruin of his affairs.' Letter to the King, p. 70.

Junius to Lord Mansfield — 'Permit me to begin with paying a just tribute to Scotch sincerity, wherever I find it. You *had* some original attachments, which you took every opportunity to acknowledge. The liberal spirit of youth prevailed over your native discretion. Your zeal in the cause of an unhappy prince was expressed with the sincerity of wine, and some of the solemnities of religion.' Note by Junius — 'This man was always a rank Jacobite. *Lord Ravensworth* produced the most satisfactory evidence of his having fre-

quently drank the Pretender's health upon his knees.' Lord Mansfield's brother was confidential Secretary to the Pretender; and Lord Mansfield, when Mr Murray, and Stone (who had been private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle), were appointed to an important trust in the education of our present king, when Prince of Wales.' Heron's Notes on Letter to Lord Mansfield.

The circumstances above stated in relation to the king — his education under Lord Bute, and the entire surrender of himself to him, at least, as Lord Temple believed — and the continual hostility of Lord Bute to the Grenville family — undoubtedly produced their natural effect on the lofty spirit of Lord Temple; and the royal pupil was thus obliged to share with his former tutor that indignation which, under other circumstances, might have been reserved for the devoted head of the minister only. Perhaps, too, the animosity of Lord Temple to the reigning family, might have begun in the time of the king's father, George the Second. In the memorable case of Admiral Byng, Lord Temple's independent conduct had excited the displeasure of the king. That Admiral's only fault, according to Almon, was 'acting with too much prudence. He was sacrificed through the management of Lord Hardwick, to screen Lord Anson. When the court-martial was ordered upon Admiral Byng, they contrived to have a certain Admiral at Portsmouth, upon whom they could rely, for President; had not Lord Temple, who was first Lord of the Admiralty, prevented it by placing Admiral Smith there, a senior officer. George the

Second had yielded to this manœuvre against the unfortunate admiral; *and he was highly offended with Lord Temple for defeating it.*'*

These personal feelings, together with the general object of Lord Temple's party, the whigs, who hoped to force themselves into the administration, sufficiently account for the bitterness towards the sovereign, which is displayed in the celebrated Letter of Junius to the King, and for the publication of which, the printer, Woodfall, was prosecuted by the Attorney-General.†

I am, &c.

* Almon's Anecdotes, vol. i, p. 250.

† It may be observed here, by the way, that the Letter to the King was in a different handwriting from the others of Junius; Mr Butler, in his Reminiscences, describes it as 'a very regular, staid hand; no difference between the hair stroke and the body of the letters;' and a writer, quoted by Mr Barker, justly wonders, that Mr Woodfall does not give a fac-simile of it, as he has done of other letters.' *Barker's Letters, Preface, page* xxiv.

Editor.

LETTER XV.

SIR,

Among the celebrated men of the period when Junius wrote, no one was more severely attacked by him than Lord Mansfield — and the question is often asked, what motive could Junius have for the severity of his language towards that eminent character. I answer — In the first place, his unconquerable antipathy to all Scotchmen, especially to those, who had any connexion with Lord Bute or his party. In the next place, the devotedness of Lord Mansfield to the Stuarts, especially the Pretender, whose health had been his favorite toast — the high tory principles, and political rancour of that Judge; and the hatred which he believed him to entertain against Lord Chatham, his brother-in-law and political colleague. He probably also attributed to Lord Mansfield the decision by which Mr Pitt, after a long contest in law, had lost, for a time, the Pynsent estate, which I have already mentioned, was given to him by Sir William Pynsent; the decision, however, was afterwards reversed. But without going into too many details, it will be sufficient to recollect, that Lord Temple, acting with Lord Chatham, would naturally have the same feelings towards their common adversary. Now Lord Chatham's hostility to Lord Mansfield is well known. In Junius's Correspondence with Wilkes, the latter says — 'Lord Chatham said to me ten years ago, "******* [Murray, Lord Mansfield], is the falsest hypocrite in Europe." Lord Chatham's severity on Lord

Mansfield's legal opinions, in his speech upon the case of Wilkes, is well known to every one; on which occasion Lord Camden united with Lord Chatham, and was in consequence dismissed from his office of Lord Chancellor. Without doubt the talents and influence of Lord Mansfield presented a formidable obstacle to the wishes of Lord Temple and his friends.

The hostility of Junius to another eminent law character, Sir William Blackstone, was comparatively unimportant, for the influence of Sir William was comparatively of little consequence as it respected the party operations of Junius's political friends. The doctrines, however, which Sir William maintained in the House of Commons in contradiction to those he had laid down in his celebrated Commentaries, on the case of Wilkes's expulsion, gave Junius an opportunity, which he did not neglect, of pouring out upon him a portion of his vengeance. His feelings, no doubt, were the more excited, as it was his own brother Mr George Grenville, who had come into collision with Sir William Blackstone, by quoting his Commentaries against him, which called forth some animadversions of Sir William upon Mr Grenville. Junius defends Mr Grenville, and carries the war into his adversary's camp with great ability and severity — a severity which would be natural in the defence of a brother. It will be recollected, that Sir William at that time was Solicitor to the Queen; and it was of some importance, that the ministers should have his opinion in favor of the unconstitutional measures they were about to take against Mr Wilkes. But he had no sooner expressed it, than he was utterly confounded by Mr Grenville's quoting his book against him.

Junius says of this occurrence — 'Doctor Blackstone, while he was speaking in the House of Commons, never once thought of his Commentaries, until the contradiction was unexpectedly urged, and stared him in the face. Instead of defending himself upon the spot, he sunk under the charge, in an agony of confusion and despair. It is well known, that there was a pause of some minutes in the house, from a general expectation that the Doctor would say something in his defence; but it seems his faculties were too much overpowered to think of those subtleties and refinements, which have since occurred to him.'* Mr Grenville, after triumphantly quoting Dr Blackstone's book against the Doctor himself, paused for the Doctor's reply, and insultingly shook his head when he saw the Doctor remain fearfully silent. The interruption of the debate, and the still, eager expectation of the House moved Sir Fletcher Norton to interpose.† 'It was then,' says Junius contemptuously, 'that Mr Grenville received the severe chastisement, which the Doctor mentions with so much triumph — *I wish the honorable gentleman, instead of shaking his head, would shake a good argument out of it.* If to the elegance, novelty, and bitterness of this ingenious sarcasm, we add the natural melody of the amiable Sir Fletcher Norton's pipe, we shall not be surprised that Mr Grenville was unable to make him any reply.' But it is said in the note to Heron's Junius, that the words of his interposition, though contemptuously mentioned by Junius, were sufficiently facetious.

* Junius, Letter 19.

† Heron's Junius, vol. ii, page 209, note.

It may be added, that Sir Fletcher Norton, though afterwards Speaker of the House, sat at this time as a common member among the crown lawyers. It was to assist a brother, that he interposed against Mr Grenville. Mr Grenville had been bred a lawyer himself; and hence would naturally take a leading part in a question that was at once juridical and political.*

Junius sums up his strictures on Doctor Blackstone, by imputing to him the most selfish and base motives and principles. He says — 'The Doctor recollected that he had a place to preserve, though he forgot that he had a reputation to lose. We have now the good fortune to understand the Doctor's principles as well as his writings. For the defence of truth, of law and reason, the Doctor's book may be safely consulted; but whoever wishes to cheat a neighbor of his estate, or to rob a country of its rights, need make no scruple of consulting the Doctor himself.' †

I cannot but observe, how strong an interest Junius, that is, Lord Temple, takes in every affair where the reputation or welfare of his brothers, Mr Grenville and Lord Chatham are concerned, and throws himself in to their aid as the occasion demands.

Notwithstanding his severity on Doctor Blackstone, Heron says, 'of no lawyer is the reputation purer, or more truly illustrious, than that of Sir William Blackstone.' ‡

His attack on Doctor Blackstone, however, was not for the sole purpose of defending his brother. His

* Heron's Junius, vol. ii, page 209, note.

† Junius, Letter 14.

‡ Heron's Junius, Letter 14, vol. i, page 153, note.

friendship for Mr Wilkes, who was his neighbor in the country, as will hereafter appear, and the general objects of his party, called him forth in the present instance. I am, &c.

LETTER XVI.

Sir,

At the close of my last letter I alluded to the celebrated John Wilkes, as a friend of Lord Temple's. I beg leave now to ask your attention to some of the circumstances relative to that individual, so conspicuous in the history of those times. And here, as on former occasions, it may be necessary to descend to particulars, which may become fatiguing; but they cannot be dispensed with in an inquiry of this nature.

Mr Wilkes, it is well known, was a near neighbor of Lord Temple, in Buckinghamshire. Lord Temple was also his parliamentary patron, and by his influence Wilkes was chosen representative for Aylesbury. He had expectations too, of obtaining by means of his patron some place under government; but he was more than once disappointed in this, and ascribed his failure to the interference of *Lord Bute*. He connected himself with Lord Temple as a political writer; and they, together with Charles Churchill, were concerned in the celebrated work called *The North Briton;* for the 45th number of which Wilkes was persecuted, as has been before stated. But as soon as he was arrested on

a 'general warrant,' he protested against its illegality; and, upon the proceedings being declared to be illegal, he was discharged from confinement by Lord Chief Justice Pratt (Camden) amidst the acclamations of the audience and populace.* In the course of these proceedings he was deprived of his commission as Colonel, by the king's order; and his patron Lord Temple, *lost his post of Lord Lieutenant of the county.* This nobleman, at his own expense, availed himself of the

* As this proceeding is so prominent a fact in English history, and has had so important consequences to all who live under laws derived from England, it has been thought it would not be uninteresting to insert here a copy of the 'General Warrant' under which Mr Wilkes was taken. It is extracted from a pamphlet entitled, 'An authentick Account of the Proceedings against John Wilkes, Esq., Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, and late Colonel of the Buckinghamshire Militia; containing all the Papers relative to this interesting affair, from that gentleman's being taken into custody by his Majesty's Messengers, to his Discharge at the Court of Common Pleas. With an abstract of that precious Jewel of an Englishman, the Habeas Corpus Act. Also, the North Briton, No. 45, being the Paper for which Mr Wilkes was sent to the Tower. Addressed to all Lovers of Liberty.'—London, printed. Boston, reprinted, 1763.

'On Saturday the Thirtieth of April [1763] at Ten in the Forenoon, three of his Majesty's messengers, by a warrant from the Secretary of State, seized on the Person of the said *John Wilkes, Esq Member of Parliament;* of which warrant the following is a true copy.

'George Montagu Dunk Earl of Halifax Viscount Sunbury and Baron Halifax one of the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces and Principal Secretary of State.

'These are in his Majesty's Name to authorize and require you (taking a Constable to your assistance) to make strict and

legal decision against general warrants, and commenced actions against the king's Messengers, the Secretaries, the under Secretary, and the Solicitor of the treasury; in all which the prosecutors obtained damages, which were paid by the crown, in consequence of an express order of council. The doctrine of the illegality of such warrants, as we are informed by the historians of that time, was thus established; and for this accession to the cause of liberty the public were indebted to John Wilkes, *Lord Temple*, and Lord Chief Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden.

Some further particulars, showing the close connexion subsisting between Lord Temple and Mr Wilkes,

diligent search for the Authors Printers and Publishers of a seditious and treasonable Paper intitled the North Briton Number XLV Saturday April 23 1763 printed for G Kearsley in Ludgate Street London and them or any of them having found to apprehend and seize together with their papers and to bring in safe custody before me to be examined concerning the premises and further dealt with according to law and in the due execution thereof all Mayors Sheriffs Justices of the Peace Constables and all other his Majesty's officers civil and military and loving subjects whom it may concern are to be aiding and assisting to you as there shall be occasion and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at St James' the twenty sixth day of April in the Third Year of his Majesty's Reign.

Signed Dunk Halifax.

Directed to

Nathan Carrington John Money
James Watson and Robert Blackmore
Four of his Majesty's Messengers in ordinary.'

'N. B. The Officers had a *verbal* order to put this warrant in execution, by entering forcibly into the house of *John Wilkes Esq; Member of Parliament*, at midnight; and those officers are (the hand bill says) now threatened with the loss of their places, for not complying with such *verbal* instructions.'

will not be uninteresting, and will at the same time, elucidate some parts of the letters of Junius relating to the latter.

When Mr Wilkes was committed to the Tower his solicitor and one of his council went to consult with him about the means to be used for his enlargement; but they were denied admittance. Major Ransford informed them, that he had received orders from the Secretary of State, not to admit *any person whatsoever* to speak with or see the said John Wilkes; and further informed them that he had just before refused the Right Honourable *the Earl of Temple* such admittance.

On the 4th of May, 1763, *Lord Temple* received from the Secretary of State (the Earl of Egremont) the following order to remove Wilkes from his office of Colonel in the Militia of Buckinghamshire:

Whitehall, May 4, 1763.

'My Lord,

The King having judged it improper that John Wilkes, Esq. should any longer continue to be Colonel of the Militia for the county of Buckingham, I am commanded to signify his Majesty's Pleasure to your Lordship, that you do forthwith give the necessary Orders for displacing Mr Wilkes as an Officer in the Militia for the said county of Buckingham.

I am, &c. Egremont.'

'*To the Earl Temple.*'

The notice of this dismissal, as communicated by Lord Temple to Mr Wilkes, deserves attention; and without doubt must have highly excited the displeasure of the king and his ministers. It is as follows:

'*Pall-Mall,** *May* 5, 1763.

'SIR,

At my return last Night from the Tower, I received the enclosed Letter from the Earl of Egremont. In consequence of his Majesty's Commands therein signified, you will please to observe that you no longer continue Colonel of the Militia for the County of Buckingham.

'I cannot, at the same time, help expressing the Concern I feel in the Loss of an Officer, by his deportment in Command, endeared to the whole Corps.

I am, Sir, &c. TEMPLE.'

'*To John Wilkes, Esq.*'

To this, Mr Wilkes made, as one of the pamphlets of that day expresses it, 'the following sensible and genteel answer:'

'*Tower*, *May* 5, 1763.

'MY LORD,

I have this moment the Honor of your Lordship's Letter, signifying His Majesty's Commands that *I should no longer continue Colonel of the Militia for the County of Buckingham*. I have only to return your Lordship my warmest Thanks for the Spirit and Zeal you have shown in the Support of that Constitutional Measure

* The author of 'Junius Unmasked,' who supposes Lord Sackville to have been Junius, observes, that 'one of the Letters of Junius had written upon it, near the signature, the words *Pall-Mall*, in which street, it is known, was the house of Lord Sackville.' But it is well known, and appears from the letter to Mr Wilkes inserted above, that Pall-Mall was also the town residence of Lord Temple.—*Edit.*

from the very Beginning. Your Lordship will please to remember, that I was among the foremost who offered their Services to their Country at that Crisis. Buckinghamshire is sensible, and has always acknowledged, *that no man but your Lordship* could have given Success to that Measure in our inland Country. I am proud of *the Testimony your Lordship is pleased to give me*, and am happy in these Days of Peace to leave so amiable a Corps in that perfect harmony which has from the Beginning subsisted. I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN WILKES.'

'*To the Earl Temple.*'

It is important to recollect, that soon after this correspondence with Wilkes, *Lord Temple himself was removed from being Lord Lieutenant of the county of Buckingham.*

The intimacy between Lord Temple and Mr Wilkes corresponds with, and throws light upon, many things connected with the latter, which are mentioned or alluded to in the writings of Junius. In one of his letters to Mr Horne (Tooke) — who, to my great surprise, has been considered by some writers in England and our own country as the author himself — Junius says: 'You say you are a *man*. Was it generous, was it manly, repeatedly to introduce into a newspaper the name of a young lady, with whom you must heretofore have lived on terms of politeness and good humor? — but I have done with you. In *my* opinion your credit is irrecoverably ruined.' We are told in a note to Woodfall's Junius, that Mr Horne 'had taken liberties with the name of Miss *Wilkes* in his public letters in

some of the newspapers — and liberties, which no misconduct of hers had entitled him to take.'* On which Mr Horne in his reply observes — 'The terms of *politeness* and *good humor*, on which I am said to have lived heretofore with the young lady, are intended to confirm other paragraphs of Mr Wilkes, in which he is supposed to have offended me by *refusing his daughter.* Ridiculous!' †

I quote these passages, for the purpose of remarking, that Lord Temple, being a neighbor of Mr Wilkes in the country, would probably know more than Mr Horne would be willing to admit respecting this young lady. It will be observed, that Mr Horne does not deny the supposition of Junius, that Mr Wilkes had in fact refused him his daughter; it was, therefore, probably true, and Lord Temple doubtless knew it to be so.

Miss Wilkes is spoken of, in the notes to Junius, as an amiable and highly accomplished young lady. In the *Private Correspondence* of Junius and Wilkes, the former, when urging the latter to adopt a particular course of conduct in regard to the approaching election for London, says — 'I appeal to Miss Wilkes, whose judgment I hear highly recommended, would she think herself much indebted to her favorite admirer, if he forced a most disagreeable partner upon her for a long winter's night because he would not dance with her himself?'

Mr Wilkes in his reply observes — 'As a private person I figure to myself, that Junius is as amiable in the private, as he is great in the public walk of life. I now live very much at home, happy in the elegant society of

* Letter 52, note. † Letter 53.

a sensible daughter, whom Junius has noticed in the most obliging manner.'

I will add, that in various instances Mr Wilkes followed the advice of Junius as to the political course he should pursue on important occasions. 'I wish to know,' says he at the close of one letter, 'his (Junius's) sentiments about certain projects against the usurped powers of the House of Lords.' He says again, 'I wish to comply with every direction of Junius, to profit by his hints, and to have the permission of writing to him on every important occasion.'

'The business is too vast to write, too hazardous to communicate to an unknown person. Junius will forgive me. What can be done?—Alas! Where is the man, after all Wilkes has experienced, in whose friendly bosom he can repose his secret thoughts, his noble but most dangerous designs? The person most capable he can have no access to, and all others he will not trust, *isolé*, as the French call it, a single column unpropped, and perhaps nodding to its fall.'—Junius answers: 'I will assist you in any way that you will suffer yourself to be assisted. When you have satisfied your understanding, that there may be reasons why Junius should attack the King, the Ministers, the Court of King's Bench and the House of Commons, in the way that I have done, and yet should desert, or betray the man who attacks the house of Lords, I would still appeal to your heart. Or, if you have any scruples about that kind of evidence, ask that amiable daughter whom you so implicitly confide in—*Is it possible that Junius should betray me?*' *

* Junius to Wilkes, Letter 31.

To a letter from George Onslow, Esq. to Mr Wilkes is the following Postscript: 'Postpone your judgment till you hear again from me, on what I lament as much as you can do, and think of as you do — Mr Pitt and Lord Temple's being not in employment.' See these two letters from Mr Onslow to Mr Wilkes; they are certainly curious from the circumstance of having been *furnished by Junius* for the printer of the Public Advertiser.*

But, notwithstanding this intimate acquaintance, we must conclude, that Mr Wilkes did not for some time, if at all, know who was the author of Junius, whatever suspicions he might have. He certainly avoided making known his suspicions, if he had any. In his letter of Sept. 12, 1771, he says — 'After the first letter of Junius to me, I did not go to Woodfall to pry into a secret I had no right to know. The letter itself bore the stamp of Jove. I was neither doubting nor impertinent.' † I am, &c.

* Miscellaneous Letters, No. 63.

† Letters of Junius and Wilkes, No. 69. The editor is here reminded of a singularly curious fact, in corroboration of Lord Temple's authorship, related by Charles Butler, Esq., who was on terms of intimacy with Mr Wilkes. After mentioning his particular acquaintance with Mr Wilkes from the year 1776 to 1784, and that Mr Wilkes himself disclaimed the authorship of Junius, treating that supposition with ridicule, Mr Butler says, he expressed a wish to see the original of Junius's Letters, and Mr Wilkes produced them to him. 'We more than once examined them together with attention. All of them, *except the Letter to the King*, are, if I remember rightly, in the same handwriting. It is like that which well educated ladies wrote about the beginning of the century; a large open hand, regular, approaching to the Italian. Mr Wilkes had a card of invitation

LETTER XVII.

Sir,

After the various well known facts which prove an intimacy between Lord Temple and Mr Wilkes, I was much surprised to find the opposite opinion maintained by Mr G. Coventry, a correspondent of Mr Barker's, as quoted at page 251 of Mr B's Letters. He says — 'Indeed the very circumstances of Grenville's death, so soon after the appearance of Junius, are not only quite sufficient to disprove Lloyd's claims altogether, but have always convinced me that Grenville's party had no share in the *Letters*. And now, supposing the ridiculous idea that Lloyd continued to write under the auspices of Lord Temple, a different party still, how can we reconcile the circumstance with the fact, that Junius corresponded with Mr Wilkes so late as Jan. 15, 1772,

to dinner *from old Lady Temple, written in her own hand;* on comparing it with Junius's Letters, we *thought there was some resemblance between them. The Letter to the King was in a hand-writing perfectly different; a very regular, staid hand; no difference between the hair-stroke and the body of the letters.*' It may be further observed, that the supposition of some writers, that Junius's Letters were written in a feigned hand, is not warranted by the fac-similies published by Mr Woodfall. Those are in a natural hand and the hand of a female. The contrary supposition is further supported by the Correspondence with Mr Woodfall; for he requests Woodfall to have the letter for Garrick *copied;* giving as a reason — 'I would send the above to Garrick directly, but *that I would avoid having this hand too commonly seen.*' Private Letters to Woodfall, No. 41. This passage is given by Woodfall in his fac-similies, plate 5. — *Edit.*

when it is well known, that no two persons *could live on more hostile terms than Mr Wilkes and Lord Temple.*' (!)

On the contrary, Mr Wilkes and Lord Temple were on very friendly terms during the time of Junius's letters; the latter, in the person of Junius, took great interest in the affairs of Mr Wilkes, and succeeded in carrying him through triumphantly, and reinstating him in the good opinion of the nation at large; the sentence against him in the House of Commons was erased from their records; and Wilkes was elected Lord Mayor of London. All this, as it appears to me, was effected through the influence of Lord Temple. Yet in the face of the numerous facts existing in the case, respecting Mr Wilkes and other persons connected with Junius, I find, to my surprise, that Lord Temple has been overlooked. A friend has lately shown me a letter from his correspondent in England, who had studied this question with attention, but who, when informed that I had shown Lord Temple to be Junius, observes, that the authorship of Lord Temple is '*out of the question.*' This I cannot but regard as the effect of preconceived opinions, influenced by the discussions, which have taken place in England and had a tendency to form partizans for particular authors. But in this country we are free from the ill effects of those discussions; and I confess, that I do not yet see how an unprejudiced mind can, after an attentive consideration of the facts, avoid coming to the conclusion, that the author must have been Lord Temple, and no other.

With respect to the acquaintance of Lord Temple and Mr Wilkes, not to say friendly feeling and interest

taken by the former in the latter, throughout the vicissitudes of his eventful political career, I add the following:

Junius, in Letter 9, to the Duke of Grafton writes — 'I have frequently censured Mr Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your Grace can best inform us, for which of Mr Wilkes's good qualities *you* first honored him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connexion with Mr Wilkes *long after* he had been convicted of those crimes, which you have since taken so much pains to represent in the blackest colors of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it, that the first instance you have given us of a *scrupulous regard to decorum* is united with a *breach of moral obligation!* For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, *I would never have been base enough to betray it.* But, let Mr Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is, with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and, though you have succeeded in making him a tool, *you shall not make him a victim of your ambition.*'

The result proved, that Junius was as good as his word. The Memoirs of Wilkes also say, that he ever after *continued his attachment to his friend Lord Temple, as long as he lived.*

In Junius's (Miscellaneous), Letter 18th, dated April, 1768, he speaks *in disapprobation of Mr Wilkes*, and his *conduct in warm terms;* although subsequently and throughout the *regular Letters* of Junius, he supported the cause, in which Mr Wilkes was engaged. The reason of this I will give you in a note of Dr Mason Good's to Woodfall's edition of Junius.

'It has already appeared in several instances, that Junius, subsequently to the present date, espoused the cause of Mr Wilkes, or rather strenuously upheld him in the contest with the ministry, upon the very subject adverted to in this letter. Yet the political conduct of Junius was perhaps strictly and unimpeachably uniform. He had at the first, indeed, conceived a personal dislike to Mr Wilkes in consequence of his strenuous resistance to the general warrant, which was served upon him during the administration in which Mr George Grenville was Chancellor of the Exchequer, for whom whether in office, or out of office, Junius ever manifested the strongest partiality. But in the present instance Wilkes is only adverted to as an instrument of attack upon the administration, which Junius abominated; there is the same apparent inconsistency in his being ultimately the friend of Lord Camden, who is here held up to public odium, and to Lord Chatham, after having as warmly opposed him. But his change of opinion concerning these noblemen was by no means a sudden flight: it grew upon him slowly, and was the result of their own change of conduct.'

In many points Dr Good seems to have perfectly understood the character and connexions of Junius, his friendships and his enmities; in fact sometimes he al-

most points out the author. What here follows is from a very different source, Croly's Life and Times of George IV, just published. This writer devotes to the authorship of Junius about three pages of as crude and inconsistent *guesses* as could well be embodied in so short a space. He examines the claims of Sir Philip Francis, Burke, and Dunning; and setting these aside, he goes on to say, that the marks of *private Secretaryship* are so strong, that all the probable conjectures have pointed to writers under that relation, — Lloyd, private secretary to George Grenville; Greatrakes, Lord Shelburne's private secretary; Rosenhagen, concerned in Shelburne House; and Macauly Boyd, who was perpetually about public men, and went out with Lord Macartny to India. He adds — But, mortifying as it may be to the disputants on the subject, the *discovery is now beyond rational hope;* for Junius intimates his having been a *spectator* of parliamentary proceedings even further back than 1743; which, supposing him to be twenty years of age at the time, would give him more than a century for his experience the discovery would probably unmask the visage of some individual of political eminence, and giving us the amusing contrast of his real and his assumed physiognomy; or, from unearthing some great unknown genius In the long interval since 1772, when the letters ceased, not *the slightest clue has been discovered* he gives us no insight into the purposes of government, of the councils of the cabinet he knows nothing (!) . . . That Junius will be *found,* if ever, among some of the *humbler names of the list (!)* If he had been a political leader, or, in any sense of the word, an independent

man, it is next to impossible that he should not have left some indication of his authorship.' Pages 128–30

What a string of shrewd conjectures we have here, not only differing from the best informed writers on the subject, but differing from himself! It is also the more curious, as it is the latest commentary on the authorship of Junius on the other side of the Atlantic.

While this writer was upon the subject of 'private secretaryships' he might have given us the following anecdote from Junius's Miscellaneous Letters, No. 85. Speaking of Mr Whately, private secretary of Mr George Grenville, Junius says —

'Indeed Tom! you have betrayed yourself too soon. Mr Grenville, your friend, your patron, your benefactor, who raised you from a depth (compared to which even Bradshaw's family stands on an eminence), was hardly cold in his grave, when you solicited the office of go-between to Lord North. You could not, in my eyes, be more contemptible, though you were convicted (as I dare say you might be), of having constantly betrayed him in his life time. Since I know your employment, be assured I shall watch you attentively Lord North, finding you cannot serve him, will give you nothing. From the other party you have just as much detestation to expect, as can be united with the profoundest contempt. Tom Whately, take care of yourself.'

Who, but Lord Temple, would be likely thus to watch the movements of his brother, Mr Grenville's, private secretary, and to address him in the familiar style here adopted towards Whately?

Every reader of Junius will also recollect the confidence of Junius in Mr Wilkes, as manifested in his

Letters to Woodfall. He says — 'Shew the Dedication and Preface to Mr Wilkes, and if he has any *material* objection, let me know.' Letter 40. And afterwards he says to Woodfall — 'When you see Mr W. pray return him my thanks for the trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more.' *Letter* 57. Again, in another letter to Wilkes, Junius says — 'I love the cause independent of the person, and *I wish well to Mr Wilkes* independent of the cause.' Wilkes also, says to Junius — the business is too vast to write, too hazardous to communicate to an *unknown* person. Junius will forgive me.' To this, Lord Temple, intimate in Wilkes's family, makes the reply I have already noticed — 'Ask that amiable daughter whom you so implicitly confide in, Is it possible Junius should betray me.'

I am, &c.

LETTER XVIII.

Sir,

In the preceding remarks upon the case of Mr Wilkes, I believe I have not mentioned the circumstance, that Mr George Grenville had been one of the first of his persecutors, and was, of course, politically opposed to Mr Pitt, and at variance also with Lord Temple. But, during the time that Junius was writing, he was, as I have before stated, on friendly terms with Lord Temple, and remained so ever after. This state of feeling will be found to agree with that expressed by

Junius in regard to Mr Grenville and Mr Wilkes; though Junius cautiously avoids committing himself as a friend of the latter, and always distinguishes between Mr Wilkes, personally, and the cause with which he was identified.

But the case of Mr Wilkes was further closely connected with another personage, who makes a conspicuous figure in the Letters of Junius. I allude to the Duke of Grafton — who, being the head of the cabinet, was treated as the responsible author of the most odious measures of the day — among which was the persecution of Wilkes. This conduct of the Duke of Grafton towards Wilkes, his intimate friend, was held up to the execration of the public in Junius's most powerful manner. Dr Good in his notes to Woodfall's edition observes — that 'Mr Wilkes, formerly, and before the Duke of Grafton had abandoned the party of Lord Chatham and had formed a party for himself, was one of his Grace's *most confidential friends;* he was at this time confined in the King's Bench prison, having surrendered himself to the jurisdiction of the King's Bench Court, by which the sentence of outlawry had been pronounced against him. The immediate cause of the ministerial persecution of Wilkes, was the zeal with which he had opposed the existing cabinet, and especially the odium and disgrace, in which the ministry had involved themselves by issuing a *general warrant*, to seize all the papers and persons of whomsoever they *suspected* to be concerned in writing the *forty-fifth* number of the famous political periodical paper called the North Briton, a joint publication of John Wilkes, Charles Churchill, and *Lord Temple.* The question

of general warrants was thereby necessarily brought before the public. The popular resentment was roused against the abettors of such measures to the highest point of irascibility; and Wilkes, upon the next general election that ensued, was chosen member of Parliament for the county of Middlesex, notwithstanding his outlawry, as a proof of the utter contempt in which the ministry were at this time held by the nation, rather than out of any *personal regard for Wilkes.*'

This last remark does not accord with the facts stated by Junius, as to the public estimation in which Mr Wilkes was held. After boldly charging the Duke of Grafton with superseding the verdict of the jury, and the sentence of the law by pardoning M'Quirk, he adds, on the subject of Mr Wilkes — 'now, my Lord, let me ask your Grace, while you were withdrawing the desperate wretch [M'Quirk] from that justice, which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people demanded against him, that there is another man [Wilkes] who *is the favorite of his Country*, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whose pardon would have healed all our divisions? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once *Your Grace's* friend? Or is it to murderers only [M'Quirk] that you will extend the mercy of the crown?' *

Under this state of feeling for the cause itself, with which Mr Wilkes was identified, and, as I think too, from a degree of regard for him, as a personal and political friend, Lord Temple, under the disguise of Junius, opened his attack upon the Duke of Grafton, as the

* Letter 8.

head of that ministry, whom he and the others of the Grenville party, in conjunction with the whig-party in general, were desirous of displacing.

I shall not trouble you with many remarks in relation to this minister; a few, however, are necessary to the present argument. I begin with an extract from the Notes to Heron's Junius. Heron says, that Junius in this Letter took occasion to open his attack on the Duke of Grafton by joining in the outcry of popular resentment, on account of a pardon granted to a Chairman [M'Quirk] who had been condemned for murder, and whom the populace of London wished rather to have seen hanged. 'The Duke of Grafton was now principal Minister, or first Lord of the Treasury. He stood at the head of those whom Junius wished to frighten from the helm of affairs.' *Mr Pitt's advice to declare War on Spain,* was rejected at this time. Mr Pitt and *Lord Temple*, in consequence of this rejection, sent in their resignation. 'But the *resignation of those Ministers* was made a signal for *raising* the *outrageous clamor* of unpopularity against the government of the sovereign, whose councils they had forsaken. When the Duke of Newcastle, and his dependents at length reluctantly followed the example [of Mr Pitt and Lord Temple], a new agency was added to increase the bluster of the storm.' [Before this period Mr Pitt and Mr Grenville had been political enemies, but were now firm friends acting in concert.]

Lord Chatham had found that the first Lord of the Treasury, the Duke of Grafton, though reputed his political pupil, was no longer willing to be implicitly guided by him.

Junius opens his first Letter to the Duke of Grafton on the subject of his pardon to M'Quirk, the Chairman, whose profligacy mercy could not expect to reclaim. He insinuates, as Heron observes, that the Ministers were not unwilling to encourage riots. In the close of the letter he makes an eloquent transition to the case of Mr Wilkes, contrasts the pardon of M'Quirk with the only pardon which the people were solicitous to obtain, viz. Mr Wilkes, who, as I have before observed, *was a neighbor* of Lord Temple, in the country, and who had for some time been engaged with him in writing for the North Briton, for publishing the celebrated 45th Number of which Mr Wilkes was now suffering.

Junius's next Letter to the Duke of Grafton (Letter 9th), like the former, was written chiefly on account of Mr *Wilkes* — 'The fame of Junius was now rising every day higher.' Mr Edward Weston thought fit to reply to the imputations of Junius (Weston was a retainer in some subordinate capacity in the service of government), by a laboured defence of the pardon of M'Quirk. Junius, in Letter 10, (April 21, 1769), replied to Weston in what Heron justly calls 'a letter of haughty exprobration,' but which it is unnecessary to quote.

On Junius's third Letter to the Duke of Grafton (Letter 11), Heron observes — That it is 'a skilful and eloquent composition.' That Lord Chatham had abandoned the Duke; and it was expected, that the Duke himself would shrink away from before the storm. He (the Duke) stood his ground. He was even irritated to take a part against the man *who had been once his friend*, Mr Wilkes. Junius endeavors to make him ridiculous, by alluding to Miss Parsons, a favorite of

the Duke's — 'that he deserted, for her arms, his official duties, and that her beauty had faded.'

The former Letters of Junius, says Heron, whatever secret pain they might have given to the Duke of Grafton, had produced no alteration in his *public conduct*. The Duke, however, at this time, had separated from Ann Parsons. 'The power of Junius over public opinion, was in the mean time astonishingly increased; and he was already regarded as the most formidable of all the foes of the ministry He determined, therefore, to try what might be done by one General Letter of satire upon the whole character of the Minister, both in public and in private life.' Junius to the Duke of Grafton: 'You had already taken your degree with credit, in those schools in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord Chatham's protection. He gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, but seldom preserve. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment; yet you deserted him with the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham. When the Duke of Cumberland's first negotiation failed, and when the Favorite [Lord Bute] was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world, why you consented to act without him; or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him.' The conduct of the Duke of Grafton towards Mr *Wilkes* is then exhibited again in strong relief: 'You complained that

no measures were taken to satisfy your patron, and that *your friend* Mr Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power; yet, I think, Lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied; and, as for Mr Wilkes, it is perhaps the greatest misfortune of his life, that you should have so many compensations to make in the closet for your former friendship with him. Your gracious master understands your character; *and makes you a persecutor, because you have been a friend.*' *

In the *Miscellaneous Letters* also, Junius (under his signature of Atticus) thus speaks of the Duke of Grafton's conduct to Wilkes and Lord Chatham: He 'looked up to Lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the *declared advocate of Mr Wilkes*. It afterwards pleased his Grace to enter into administration with his friend Lord Rockingham, and, in a very little time, it pleased his Grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the treasury, upon terms which Lord Temple had disdained.' †

Upon a consideration of all the circumstances, therefore, both in relation to the general object of Lord Temple's party, which was to displace the ministry — and also to the personal animosity, which he would naturally feel towards the Duke of Grafton for his treachery to

* Letter 12.

† 'Which Lord Temple had disdained.' A similar sentiment occurs in relation to this transaction, in Lord Temple's Pamphlet of 1766, where the same terms are used to express in the strongest manner his rejection of this offer.

Mr Wilkes, and especially to Lord Chatham — we find the most powerful motives for the severity of Junius's attack upon his Grace, then the prime minister of the kingdom. What other motives there were, besides those which we can collect from the public histories of that day, I do not know; probably others did exist, as Junius seems to have had a peculiar rancour against the Duke. He says — 'You are the pillow upon which I am determined to rest all my resentments.' And again — 'Every villain in the kingdom is your friend.' 'Next to the Duke of Grafton, I verily believe the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington.' I am, &c.

LETTER XIX.

Sir,

I have gone so minutely into the history of some of the distinguished men of Junius's day, who were most immediately connected with him, that it is not necessary to pursue our inquiry, with the same particularity, in relation to many others who are the subjects of his Letters. But, assuming Lord Temple to have been the writer of Junius, we find a natural and easy solution of every question that has occasioned any real difficulty, in relation to the authorship of that work. I will, however, ask your attention to some circumstances which could not be well introduced before, in relation to some other individuals than those already considered.

The Duke of Bedford is among those who, as Junius says, are called upon 'to act or to suffer' in the course of his Letters. This nobleman belonged to a family, which had been long distinguished for its whig principles. A brief history of it is given by Heron (Letter 23), from which I extract only a small part, which will suffice for the present purpose. 'At the accession of the House of Hanover, this family (the Russels) were found among its firmest friends; and, as such, were favored and honored. The administration of Sir Robert Walpole had the support of the Duke of Bedford. Nor was it till after he had married the sister of Lord *Gower*, and had began to be dissatisfied with the feeble administration of the Pelhams, that the Duke, to whom Junius addresses his letters, began to set himself at the head of a particular party and to offer occasional opposition to the measures of a government, *that was founded upon the revolution settlement.* The *Gower* family had been noted as *steady tories.* But Lord Gower became one of the most notorious examples of apostacy from the Tory cause, for the sake of winning the favor of a whig-administration. Dr Johnson, among others, was so much enraged at this defection, that he wished to have preserved the name of a *Gower*, in his Dictionary, as another name for an *apostate* or *betrayer.* The alliance between the house of Gower and that of Bedford seemed to form a new party, that was neither whig nor tory. At that time the parties in Parliament were not fewer than five — the Pitt and Grenville party; the Bedford party; the predominant party of the Pelhams; the Tories, with the rest who paid their court to the Prince of Wales; and the friends of the Duke of Cumberland, who were headed by Henry, the father of

Charles Fox. The Bedford party could not of themselves form an efficient administration, but were sufficiently formidable to be courted by all the rest. The Pelhams received them; but they wanted character and popularity, though not deficient in talents; and it became unavoidably necessary to employ *Pitt* and *the Grenvilles*. While Pitt dictated measures at the end of George the Second's reign, the Duke of Bedford, like the other parties, gave him their support. The Lieutenancy of Ireland was worthy of the Duke's rank and ambition; and its patronage enabled him to provide amply for *his creature, Rigby*, as well as to perform some acts of magnificent beneficence, in which ostentation had no share. He next condescended to become the *political ally of Bute;* went ambassador to Paris, and had the honor, or the infamy, of being the ostensible negotiator of the peace of 1763. After his return from France, the Duke was, for a short time, discontented with Lord Bute and the Court. But a vacancy was soon left in the ministry, which he and his friends were called to fill. Lord Bute and this new administration were soon mutually dissatisfied with each other. The opposition between the Court and the Ministry became publicly known; and *an attempt was made to substitute Pitt, Lyttleton, and Temple*, instead of Halifax, Bedford, and Grenville, in the chief offices of the Ministry. *It failed of success.* The Duke of Bedford saw Lord Bute and even the king himself at his mercy. He used his advantage cruelly; obliging the king to expel from official employment all such of his servants as were supposed to have been appointed at the recommendation of the Earl of Bute; and in particular Mr

Stuart Mackenzie, that nobleman's brother, whom the king had before voluntarily promised never to dismiss from office. Such an insolent triumph was not to be endured by the sovereign. The Newcastle and Rockingham Whigs were invited to come into office almost upon their own terms; and the Duke of Bedford and his associates were with great indignation dismissed.

From various causes the Duke of Bedford became very unpopular, and was willing to get into favor with the court party. When the king grew weary of the Rockingham administration, and again courted the Grenvilles, the Duke of Bedford, the friend of George Grenville, eagerly threw himself into the negotiation; but was scornfully slighted by Lord Bute, who had not yet forgotten the insolent dismission of his brother. Lord Chatham then, by command of the king, formed a new administration. But he soon found himself unable to withstand the opposition which the Rockingham Whigs, the Bedford party, *and the friends of George Grenville and Lord Temple*, were exciting against him. He sought the friendship of the Duke of Bedford; and the Duke, with his friends, were not unwilling to serve under Lord Chatham. But the king had not yet pardoned the Duke's former insolence; and Lord Chatham was thus hindered from fulfilling the engagements he had privately made with the Duke.* Lord Chatham

* Junius says, in a note to his own edition, printed by Woodfall, vol. i. p. 171, 'That the Ministry having endeavored to exclude the Dowager out of the Regency Bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the king, reproached him in plain terms with duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy — repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in convulsions.'

proved unable to superintend and preserve the fabric which he had reared. Mr Townsend died; Mr Conway resigned; the Duke of Grafton deserted Lord Chatham, for the friendships which were to be found at Court; Lord Chatham himself, *at last abandoning* the Ministry which he had formed, *was reconciled to his brothers* and to the Rockingham Whigs. At that crisis the *Duke of Bedford accepted the offers* of the Court, *joined the Duke of Grafton*, and *drew upon himself the fiercest rage* of all the Whigs, by making himself, as they conceived, the saviour of Lord Bute, of the Tories, and of the system of secret influence in the closet. After more than a year from the formation of the coalition, which still stood unshaken, Junius attacked the Duke of Bedford, in the manner which every reader recollects, in the celebrated letter of September 19, 1769, (No. 23). The Duke's whole public and private conduct are there reviewed; and whatever is odious, mean, or unpopular in his conduct, is rendered still more so by the consummate skill and eloquence of the writer. 'The contrast,' says Heron, 'of a fancied good character with the actual bad one of the Duke of Bedford; the artful imputation of treachery won by bribes in the negotiating of the peace; the hinted coarseness and vulgarity of the object of his satire in his private pleasures; the recalling that outrage to recollection, with which the Duke had, on a former occasion, treated his sovereign; the suggestion, that the Duke might now fancy all his plans of ambition consummated and himself indisputable master of the voices of the cabinet council; above all, the alarming earnestness with which, in the concluding paragraphs,

the Duke is taught to believe the whole empire to be, as it were, in arms against him; compose together an assemblage of splendid parts, forming certainly one of the most powerfully and elaborately eloquent of all this collection of Letters.' *

Lord Temple himself could not have given a better historical account of facts than is contained in this brief sketch, which I have extracted from Heron's Notes. 1st, the attempt (as stated in Lord Temple's Pamphlet of 1766) by Mr Pitt and Lord Temple to form an administration, and its failure; 2d, a Ministry formed by Mr Pitt and opposed by George Grenville, his brother, and the Duke of Bedford, who had been removed to make room for Mr Pitt's Ministry, and had united himself with Lord Temple's party; 3d, the failure of Mr Pitt in consequence of this opposition; 4th, the desertion of the Duke of Grafton; 5th, *the reconciliation with his brothers, Lord Temple and Mr Grenville;* and, lastly, their disappointment on the *Duke of Bedford's deserting them* and joining the Duke of Grafton. These are, certainly, sufficient reasons for the indignation of Junius, that is, Lord Temple, against the Duke of Bedford.

I stop one moment to ask, whether it is possible, that this letter to the Duke of Bedford, could have been penned by Sir Philip Francis, by Horne Tooke, by Mr Lloyd; in short by any one but him who moved in the sphere of action described — by any but one who felt his pre-eminence of station, of character, of intellect, of disappointment? It could have proceeded from no other than Lord Temple. I am, &c.

* Heron's Junius, vol. i. p. 261.

LETTER XX.

SIR,

The attack of Junius on the Marquis of Granby, though of minor importance in some points of view, was a necessary part of the plan of operations in Lord Temple's party. He was the commander-in-chief of the army; and, as Heron says, was 'one of the most popular of all the members of the administration; and, since it was the object of Junius to overthrow the ministry, he thought it necessary to use peculiar pains to blast the popularity of those of them, of whom public opinion was inclined to judge the least unfavorably.' Heron adds, that this attack on the Marquis of Granby was 'inspired with all the artful vehemence of personal and political hatred His military friends were enraged, that the secrecy of a fictitious name should conceal that author from their vengeance. Lord George Germaine (afterwards known as Lord Sackville), not undeservedly disgraced for not having eagerly done his duty in the battle of Minden, was supposed to be the only man, at least the only military man, who could write so well, and could have secret motives for writing so bitterly against Lord Granby.'*

But the commander-in-chief was made a more conspicuous character in the scene, from the circumstance of his being defended, unsuccessfully, by an officer in the army, whose complete defeat by Junius on this occasion is one of the most striking incidents in the course

* Heron's Junius, vol. i, pages 37, 43, notes.

of the Letters — I allude to Sir William Draper. It is supposed that this officer 'was ambitious to shew that the commander-in-chief had a military friend, who could defend his political reputation with greater gallantry than this terrible secret enemy, and at least with equal eloquence. Sir William was not a mere soldier; he had received an excellent education, and had been for a considerable time a residing member of an university On several occasions, his ability as a writer was made known to the public; always with advantage. He had a vanity in showing, that he was no less an elegant scholar than a gallant and skilful soldier. There was a mixture of literary ambition, soldierly frankness, and ardent friendship in his eager interposition to defend the Marquis of Granby against the bold imputations of Junius. So far as literary fame might be his object, he has not been disappointed. He is generally confessed to have been an adversary not unworthy of him to whom he opposed himself.' *

The result of his contest with Junius is well known to every reader. But I shall advert to two or three circumstances, so far as the question of authorship is concerned, which, if Lord Temple was the writer, prove how entirely mistaken Sir William Draper was in the opinions he seems to have formed of the real Junius. In allusion to a remark that his (Junius's) 'rank or fortune placed him above a common bribe,' Sir William sneeringly says — 'as you told us of your importance, and that you are a person of rank and fortune and above a common bribe, you may in all probability

* Heron's Junius, vol. i, page 44.

be not unknown to his lordship (Earl Shelburne), who can satisfy you of what I say.' But if Lord Temple was Junius, this sneer was altogether misplaced. Again, Sir William says contemptuously — 'I know not whether Junius be considerable enough to belong to any party; if he should be so, can he affirm, that he has always adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure, that he has never sided with those whom he was first *hired* to abuse? Has he never abused those he was hired to praise?'* Insinuations like these could only have excited ridicule in Sir William's real adversary.

It is a singular circumstance, as Dr Good observes, that Sir William Draper and Junius were antagonists in political warfare, under signatures mutually unknown, so far back as May, 1767, two years before the series of Junius's Letters was begun; Junius having written at that time under the name of *Poplicola*, and Sir William under the signature of *W. D.* The subject of Sir William's observations was *a defence of Lord Chatham* against some strong observations made upon his character by Mr Wilkes, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Grafton, and which I have already quoted. This, you will recollect, was at the period (1767) when Lord Temple and Lord Chatham had separated, and when the latter had been so severely attacked by the former, in his Pamphlet of the preceding year, and in his letters of the 28th of April, 1767, which I have already quoted (see page 33), and of other dates, quoted at pages 86, 87, &c.

* Letter 4.

I would add to this, that I have little or no doubt, that Sir William Draper was also the author of a Reply to Lord Temple's Pamphlet of 1766. I beg leave to refer to a part of it: 'Of the same nature are the charges of Lord Chatham's having altered his connexions, which in political matters is so very common a case, and often on very good grounds. But has Lord Temple to boast that he has not done the same thing with regard to the nobleman whose interest he voluntarily espoused, or at least with those most in connexion with him, but who are now become friends, made from enemies, because they were the connexions of that brother whom he so much condemned and opposed for taking part with them against himself, Lord Chatham, and all those whom he never ought to have deserted?' *

After Sir William Draper's defence of his friend, Lord Granby, he was soon obliged to relinquish that contest, not because he found none upon which to stand, but in order to defend himself. Foiled, he withdrew from the contest, extremely mortified. The public, perhaps, are not familiar with a fact of some little interest to Americans, that shortly afterwards, he left England, arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, in January 1770, and travelled towards the north as far as New-York, receiving that hospitality which in this country is always paid to strangers, and with the attentions that were due to the merit of such a visitor. At New-York he married Miss De Lancy, 'a lady of great connexions there, and agreeable endowments.' In 1778, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Minor-

* London Magazine for 1766.

ca. He left England in October, 1769; and his last letter to Junius, dated the 2d of October, 1769, is headed — 'A word at parting to Junius.' A few days after the publication of this letter, says Dr. Good, a report was circulated, that Sir William Draper, in consequence of his defence of Lord Granby, had been appointed to a governorship in America, which Sir William contradicted in a note addressed to the printer of the Public Advertiser, Oct. 20, 1769 — in which he says — 'The story has been raised to make the public believe, that he has endeavored to vindicate those, whom he knows to have been most infamously traduced, for the sake of a reward. His motive for this voyage is entirely curiosity. He has nothing to do with the politics of this ministry, or of any other set of men whosoever.' *

His defence of the injured, however well intended, was not much valued by those who were the objects of it. Junius observes, in a manner which has the appearance of knowing something about the fact — 'It has been said, and I believe truly, that it was signified to Sir William Draper, *as the request of Lord Granby*, that he should desist from writing in his Lordship's defence. Sir William Draper certainly drew Junius forward to say more of Lord Granby's character than he originally intended. He was reduced to the dilemma of either being totally silenced or of supporting his first letter.' And Junius did not intend to make him a particular subject of attack; he says, he lamented his death; and 'never spoke of him with resentment.'

* Woodfall's Junius, Letter 27, note.

Lord Granby too, as Junius asserts, thought proper 'to condemn, retract, and disavow, by a most solemn declaration in the House of Commons, that very system of political conduct, which Junius had held forth to the disapprobation of the public.' *

In connexion with these military characters, I am reminded of a fact which will be enlarged upon hereafter — that Lord Temple, from having been in the *War* Department, necessarily became familiarly acquainted with those numerous details respecting the army, which appear so prominent in some of Junius's Letters, and which have led some persons to conclude, though too hastily, that Junius must have been himself a military officer, or the amanuensis of one. But, I believe, nothing of a *military* character will be found in Junius, which would not naturally fall under the knowledge of any persons at the head of the War Department.

I am, &c.

* Junius, note at the end of Letter 8.

LETTER XXI.

SIR,

I have laid before you a very summary view of such facts and circumstances, connected with the principal personages in the letters of Junius, as have a bearing upon the point of Lord Temple's authorship. I shall now bring together various facts, more immediately relating to the history of Lord Temple himself, which will fully corroborate the conclusions I have drawn from the sources above mentioned. I shall, perhaps, tax your patience with details; but, as I have before observed, they are indispensable.

Richard Grenville, afterwards Earl Temple, was, as I have before stated, the elder brother of Mr George Grenville, who took so conspicuous a part in the measures of the British Ministry in relation to the American Colonies. Dr Good observes of Junius—'It is not impossible to form a plausible guess at the age of Junius, from a passage in one of his Private Letters; an inquiry, which, though otherwise of little or no consequence, is rendered in some measure important as a test to determine the validity of the claims that have been laid to his writings by different candidates or their friends. The passage referred to, occurs in his letter to Woodfall, dated Nov. 27, 1771: "After *long experience* of the world," says he, "I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy." Now when this declaration is coupled with the two facts that he made it under the repeated promise and intention of disclosing himself to his correspondent, and that the corres-

pondent thus schooled, by a moral axiom gleaned from his own *long* experience of the world, was at this very time something more than thirty years of age, it seems absurd to suppose Junius could be much less than fifty, or that he affected an age he had not actually attained.' *

I have not happened to meet with a precise date showing the exact age of Lord Temple; but, his next younger brother, George Grenville, was born in 1712, and consequently, at the date of the letter just quoted, was about fifty-nine years old; Lord Temple, therefore, must at the time have been about sixty or sixty-one years old; a period of life, when he might justly speak of his 'long experience of the world.'

It is observed by Dr Good — 'That he [Junius] was not only a man of highly cultivated general talents and education, but who had critically and successfully studied the language, the law, the constitution and history of his native country, is indubitable. Yet this is not all; the proofs are just as clear, that he was also a man of independent fortune, that he moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately acquainted from its first conception, with almost every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident.' †

The opinion here expressed by Dr Good, respecting the talents, education, and extensive knowledge of Junius, is in accordance with that of every one who has ever read Junius. In addition to what has been already stated on the subject of the talents and power of language possessed by Lord Temple, I quote here the pas-

* Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, vol. i, p. 46.

† Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, vol. i, p. 32.

sage from Smollet's History of England, to which you referred. 'On the debate in Parliament in 1753, upon the bill for *repealing* an act which had allowed Jews to be naturalized, Smollet says — 'Though the lords, in general, concurred in the expediency of the repeal, it was opposed by a few, as too great a sacrifice to the idle and unfounded clamors of the multitude; and upon this side of the debate *a great power of elocution* was displayed by Earl Temple — who had lately succeeded to this title on the death of his mother — a nobleman of *distinguished abilities*, and the most amiable disposition, frank, liberal, humane, and zealously attached to the interest and honor of his country.' *

Dr Good further observes of Junius — 'That he was a man of easy, if not of affluent circumstances, is unquestionable from the fact, that he never could be induced in any way or shape to receive any acknowledgment from the proprietor of the Public Advertiser for the great benefit and popularity he conferred on this paper by his writings, and to which he was fairly entitled. When the first genuine edition of his letters was on the point of publication, Mr Woodfall again urged him either to accept half its profits or to point out to him some public charity or other institution, to which an equal sum might be presented. His reply to this request is contained in a paragraph of one of his Private Letters, No. 59, and confers credit on both parties: 'What you say about the profits is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that *I am far above all pecuniary views*, and no other

* Hist. of England, B. 3, Chap. 3, Sect. 9.

person, I think, has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it, therefore, and let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence; without it no man can be happy, nor even honest.' In this last sentence, continues Dr Good, 'he reasoned from the sphere of life in which he was accustomed to move; and, confining it to that sphere, the transactions of every day show us that he reasoned correctly.'* In another letter, to Woodfall, Junius asks to be informed of his expenses, in case of a prosecution for publishing the Letter to the King, and promises to indemnify him.

In the Letter of Junius, 12 April, 1769, he writes — 'That he is neither a partisan of Mr Wilkes, nor yet bought off by the Ministry. It is true I have refused offers which a more prudent, or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or a virtue in me, I can only affirm that I am in earnest; because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, Sir, may *be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.*'

Compare these remarks with the following account of Lord Temple's rank and fortune, for some of the particulars of which I am indebted to my friend Mr C*****.

Richard, Earl Temple, was a son of Richard Grenville of Wootton, who married Hester, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Temple of Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, and sister of Richard, Viscount and Baron Cobham.

* Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, vol. i, p. 32.

On the death of her brother, this lady became Viscountess and Baroness Cobham, and was further advanced to the dignity of *Countess Temple.* The Countess died in 1752, and was succeeded by her eldest son, the above-named Richard, Earl Temple,* whom I have in these letters considered to be the author of Junius. May 4, 1737, he married Anna, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Chambers, Esq., of Hanworth, county of Middlesex, worth £90,000. † He had one daughter, Elizabeth, (his only child), who died at four years of age, 1738.

It is mentioned in the Annual Register for 1767, that on the occasion of the re-election of Alderman Beckford, (which was a highly contested election), at an entertainment given at Guildhall, but four or five of the Aldermen attended, but that Lord and Lady Temple were among the guests, and that Lady Temple appeared in a splendid dress, with jewelry to the amount of fifty thousand pounds.

I am aware that Mr Barker, in his Letters on Junius, says, he is not prepared to admit that Junius was 'himself a man of high rank, or a scion of nobility.' But the arguments of Mr Butler on the other side, as quoted by Mr Barker, are not easy to be answered. Mr Butler says — 'In the Letter, which we have transcribed, notice is taken of the *tone of equality*, in which Junius mentions and addresses the very highest personages of his times; how difficult it is for a person of inferior rank to do this, appears from Swift's *Letters*

* Debrett's Peerage, vol. i, p. 48.

† Annual Register; and Gentleman's Magazine, for 1737.

and anecdotes of him, in which his consciousness of inferiority, notwithstanding his assumption of equality, pierces through every disguise. To all his illustrious contemporaries, Cicero ever writes *en pair;* D'Alembert too, in the midst of all his flattery (through which, however, his ironical smile is often seen), keeps the King of Prussia at a respectful distance.'

The supposition of Junius's being 'a man of high rank,' and that he moved in the immediate circle of the court, is also in accordance with another fact which appears in every page of his Letters — and which, as Dr Good observes, cannot even now be contemplated without surprise; that was, 'the facility with which he became acquainted with every ministerial manœuvre, whether public or private, from almost the very moment of its conception. At the first moment, the partizans of the prime minister [the Duke of Grafton], were extolling his official integrity and virtue, in not only resisting the terms offered by Mr Vaughan for the purchase of the reversion of a patent place in Jamaica, but in commencing a prosecution against Vaughan for thus attempting to corrupt him. Junius in his letter of Nov. 29, 1769 (No. 33), exposed this affectation of coyness, as he calls it, by proving, that the minister was not only privy to, but a party concerned in, the sale of another patent place.* The rapidity with which the affair of General Gansell reached Junius, is also noticed by Dr Good. See Junius's Letters, Nos. 30 and 31. In his letter to the Duke of Bedford, also, Dr

* See also Private Letters to Woodfall, No. 15, where particulars are stated respecting this transaction.

Good remarks, that he narrates facts, which could scarcely be known but to persons immediately acquainted with the family; and when the printer was threatened with a prosecution for the Letter to the Duke, Junius tells him he has nothing to fear — 'I am sure,' says he, 'I can threaten him *privately* with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave.'* He was equally acquainted with the domestic concerns of Lord Hertford's family: 'Nobody is so vociferous as the Earl of Hertford on the subject of the late unprecedented marriage!' This was the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland. Again; of a Mr *Swinney*, a correspondent of the printer's, he observes — 'That Swinney is a dangerous fool; he had the impudence to go to Lord George Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius; take care of him.'

His secret intelligence respecting *public* transactions, as Dr Good observes, was as extraordinary; of which a remarkable instance is, the notice of the dismission of Sir Jeffery Amherst — and also his information to Woodfall, that a secret expedition of ships of the line was fitting out for the East Indies: 'Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance *I* give you, that, &c.' †

He was able to inform his printer who were the authors of various communications — 'Your *Veridicus* is Mr Whitworth . . . Your Lycurgus is a Mr Kent, a young man of good parts,' &c.‡

* Private Letters to Woodfall, No. 10.

† Private Letter, No. 28.

‡ Private Letters, Nos. 5 and 6.

These circumstances all prove beyond a doubt the rank and circle in which Junius moved; and they all correspond with the case of Lord Temple.

This early information, which Junius possessed, of the measures of government, is also particularly noticed by Mr Butler. 'Those,' says Mr Butler, 'who recollect the controversy which took place between the Count de Guignes, the French ambassador in this country, and Salvador, the Portuguese Jew, in consequence of certain stock-jobbing transactions, during the disputes between Spain and this country respecting Falkland's Island, and the manner in which the British cabinet changed on a sudden, from words of war to words of peace, must be surprised at the early intelligence which Junius gave of this change to Woodfall.' † Now Lord Temple, from his situation, knew all about this and other measures relating to Spain. I have before mentioned (page 64), the circumstance of his leaving the cabinet, with Lord Chatham, because they two, acting together, were overruled by the other members, in relation to the Spanish war. I am, &c.

† Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i, page 75.

LETTER XXII.

SIR,

There is another point in the history of Junius, as Dr Good observes, which must not be passed over without observation, although otherwise it might be scarcely entitled to notice; and that is, that during a great part of the time from January, 1769, to January, 1772, the period included in his letters, he uniformly resided in London or its immediate vicinity, and that he never quitted his stated habitation for a longer period than *a few weeks*. Incessantly engaged in supporting the pretensions and character of *Junius*, attacked as it was by numerous writers of the administration, he had no time for remote excursions, nor often for relaxation, even in the vicinity of the metropolis itself.* In a letter of Nov. 8, 1769, to Woodfall, he says — 'I have been out of town *for three weeks*.' On another occasion, 'I have been *some days* in the country.' In another letter, about Nov. 15, 1771 — 'I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country for *a few days*.' †

When we know the fact, that Lord Temple's country residence was at Stowe, only about a day's journey from London, all this is as naturally explained, as it would be difficult of explanation, if, with some, we suppose that Junius resided in Ireland, or other place remote from the metropolis. While in London, his residence was in *Pall-Mall*, from which street he dates his

* Woodfall's Junius, Preliminary Essay, page 47.

† Private Letters, Nos. 11, 7.

letter to Wilkes, to which you referred me. That he was not a fixed resident in London would seem to be inferable (though not necessarily) from his 58th Letter, 'addressed to the Livery of London,' which begins thus: 'Gentlemen; if *you* alone were concerned in the event of the present election of chief magistrate of the metropolis, it would be the highest presumption in a *stranger* to attempt to influence your choice, or even to offer you his opinion.'

Now the advocates of Sir Philip Francis and Mr Lloyd will not admit, that those writers could be considered *strangers* in London. It was at Lord Temple's house in Pall-Mall, also, according to the *Memoirs of an Eminent Bookseller*, quoted by Mr Barker, that *Almon* 'did not fail to pay his devoirs once a week, at least, *and was always admitted.*' * Mr Almon was called 'Lord Temple's *man*. His visits to Pall-Mall and Stowe were frequent and notorious. At both places he was always received in the most gracious manner.' † I would remark here, by the way, that this circumstance gives great weight to the statements which I have quoted in various instances from Mr Almon.

It is been assumed by many writers on this subject, that Junius must have been a *military* man, from his use of military language and his acquaintance with the business of the war-office. But these circumstances may be easily accounted for, on the supposition of Lord Temple's authorship. In the first place he was Lord

* See above, page 137, and the remark in the note there respecting Lord Sackville.

† Barker's Letters, page 145.

Lieutenant of the County of Buckingham, which gave him the command of the militia and all military affairs of the county, including the commissioning of colonels, majors, captains, and subaltern officers. Lord Temple, accordingly, we have seen, was, as commander-in-chief of the county, required by the king to dismiss *Colonel* Wilkes from his command of a county regiment.* But what is of more importance in relation to this point, was his being for a considerable period in *the war department*, and first Lord of the Admiralty. And during that period, as I have before observed, he planned and conducted the most important measures of the war; which gave to Lord Chatham his great popularity and fame. These situations, and his necessary intercourse with military men, would of course give him a sufficient familiarity with military language to enable him to use so much of it as would be generally understood by his readers. Certain it is, that the same ready use of military language occurs in Lord Temple's Pamphlet of 1766.

I transcribe from a single leaf of that Pamphlet, a few military phrases, to compare with some from Junius's Letters.

'For a little time he (Mr Pitt) was quiet, but his ever restless ambition soon broke out, and he aimed at the sole guidance of the State, which he seemed resolved to *take by storm*.' 'It is his nature to bear no control; therefore the king was *taken captive* in his closet, and made *prisoner* upon the throne.'

* See page 137.

'This little *corps*, contemptible in *numbers*, and despicable in abilities, is to be *reinforced* by *subalterns* of the late ministry; by those whose excessive lust for *office*, whose ingratitude, meanness, and subserviency, would not suffer them to follow the resignations and dismissions of their patrons. The moment these heard there was another *recruiting serjeant in town*, they instantly *deserted* both the *officers* and *colors* under which they had first *enlisted*, and for *present pay* and *good quarters*, *repaired* to the *drumhead* of *the enemy*.'

We have here a greater collection of military phrases than is to be found in all Junius's Letters; and yet the author was not by profession a military man.

Mr Butler and Mr Wilkes came to the conclusion, that Junius 'had lived with military men, from the propriety of his language on military subjects. And Mr Barker has given in his appendix, upon the authority of a friend, *seven* instances of Junius's 'images and illustrations,' drawn from the *military art;* which may be compared with those I have just given from the Pamphlet of 1766:

1. 'As if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *coup de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow but the dictates of his courage.' Letter 3.

2. 'A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the *deserters* of all parties, interests, and connexions, and nothing remained but to find a *leader* for these gallant, well-disciplined troops.' Letter 15.

3. 'His palace is *besieged* — the *lines of circumvallation* are drawing around him, and unless he finds a

resource in his own activity, the best of princes must submit to the confinement of a state prisoner until your Grace's death, or some less fortunate event, shall *raise the siege.*' Letter 23.

4. 'I may quit the service, but it would be absurd to suspect me of *desertion.*' Letter 44.

5. 'The favor of his country constitutes the *shield* which defends him against a thousand daggers — *desertion* would disarm him.' Letter 59.

6. 'The wary Wedderburne, the pompous Suffolk, never threw away the scabbard, nor ever went upon a *forlorn hope.*' Letter 59.

7. 'When the contest turns upon the interpretation of the laws, you cannot, without a formal *surrender* of all your reputation, yield *the post of honor* even to Lord Chatham.' Letter 69.

The author of 'Junius Unmasked,' Boston, 1828, has observed, that — 'Junius, had been a soldier — as Lord Sackville had been;' to which I would apply the remarks already made on this point.

I am, &c.

LETTER XXIII.

Sir,

As Junius has been thought to be a military man, because he occasionally uses military expressions, so he has, by many persons, been thought a *lawyer*, from his use of the language of lawyers. Without having the presumption myself to judge of his use of professional language, I beg leave only to refer to his express declarations on this head. That he was not a lawyer, I think is very clear, from his letter to Lord Mansfield, as follows:

'To prove the meaning and intent of the legislature, will require a minute and tedious deduction. To investigate a question of law demands some labor and attention, though very little genius or sagacity. As a practical profession, the study of the law requires but a moderate portion of abilities. The learning of a pleader is usually upon a level with his integrity. The indiscriminate defence of right and wrong contracts the understanding, while it corrupts the heart. Subtlety is soon taken for wisdom, and impunity for virtue. If there be any instances upon record, as some there are undoubtedly, of genius and morality united in a lawyer, they are distinguished by their singularity, and operate as exceptions.' *

I ought to add, that it is said that Lord Eldon declared in the House of Lords, that 'the author of the Letters of Junius, if not a lawyer, must certainly have

* Letter 68.

written in concert with the ablest and best of lawyers.' * But, on the other hand, Mr Butler, the eminent English lawyer, has declared that Junius could not be a lawyer, because of 'his gross inaccuracy' in the use of legal terms. Now Lord Temple was not a lawyer by profession; but at the time of writing Junius's Letters, Lord Chatham, and his brother, George Grenville, the latter of whom was bred to the law, were his confidential friends; and he was himself undoubtedly as well read in the laws of his country as every gentleman ought to be, who takes a share in the affairs of his government.

Again — the writers on this question remark, that Junius was friendly to the politics of the *North Briton*. So was Lord Temple, being himself one of the contributors to that publication, in conjunction with Charles Churchill and Mr Wilkes.

Junius, it is also agreed, must have been a personal and political friend of Mr George Grenville. It has appeared through the whole course of our inquiry, that Lord Temple was warmly attached to Mr Grenville, his own brother, and in constant friendship with him, except during the period of the quarrel with Lord Chatham.

Junius was also an enemy of Lord Chatham at one period, and afterwards his friend. This has also been shown to have been the case with Lord Temple, and exactly at the periods when the breach and reconciliation took place between him and Lord Chatham.

He was also a zealous supporter of the *cause* in which Mr Wilkes was engaged, apart from personal regard for

* Heron's Junius, vol. i, p. 70.

him; and, on the other hand, he was friendly to Mr Wilkes independently of the cause. So was Lord Temple. This regard for Wilkes and the cause, was, no doubt, one reason for Lord Temple's utter detestation of Lord Barrington's character. He was the man who moved for the expulsion of Wilkes, in which he was seconded by Mr Rigby. Lord Barrington, however, says Dr Good, was besides guilty of atrocities which no man can yet have forgotten, nor will, but with the total oblivion of his name. He had also deceived Lord Temple himself.* Mr Wilkes never deserted his friend Lord Temple, while he lived.

Dr Good says — 'To judge of the moral and political character of Junius from his writings, as well private as public, he appears to have been a man of bold and ardent spirits, tenaciously honorable in his personal connexions, but vehement and inveterate in his enmities, and quick and irritable in conceiving them.' †

Mr Almon, who had been on the most intimate terms with Lord Temple for nearly twenty years, says of him — 'The natural disposition of this noble Lord was the most amiable that can be conceived to his friends, but when offended, his disapprobation was warm and conspicuous, — his language flowed spontaneously from his feelings; his heart and his voice always corresponded.' ‡

I proceed to notice some other circumstances, which are stated by writers on this question, and which deserve attention.

* Junius's Miscellaneous Letters, No. 113.

† Preliminary Essay, page 65.

‡ Almon's Anecdotes of Chatham, vol. 2, page 29.

Mr Taylor, as quoted by Mr Barker, says — 'To have approved at the same time of Mr Grenville and Lord Chatham was impossible.' But this apparent difficulty is explained by adverting to the quarrel and reconciliation with Mr Grenville in 1765, and with Lord Chatham in 1768. Junius's Letters began after this, January 21, 1769.

The Edinburgh Review observes — 'A simple test ascertains the political connexions of Junius — the only circumstance which he could not disguise, because it could not be concealed without defeating his general purpose. He supported the cause of authority against America — with Mr Grenville, the minister — against the Stamp Act. He maintained the highest popular principles on the Middlesex election, with the same statesman, who was the leader of opposition on that question. No other party in the kingdom but the Grenvilles combined these two opinions.'

On this it may be remarked, that even the Grenville party did not at all periods combine these opinions, unless we consider Lord Temple to represent the party. For a time he was against Mr Grenville and Lord Chatham, members of that party; but, as before observed, they were all afterwards reconciled, and acted in concert.

The same Review further says — 'Whoever revives the inquiry, therefore, unless he discovers positive and irresistible evidence in support of his claimant, should shew him to be politically attached to the Grenville party, which Junius certainly was; and must also produce some specimens of his writings of tolerable length, such as might afford reasonable grounds for believing

that he could have written those Letters, which must be allowed to be 'finished models, though not of the purest and highest sort, of composition.'

The facts and circumstances stated in the course of the preceding letters, show minutely Junius's political and personal attachments, and fulfil the first of these two conditions; and the specimens of composition, which I have ventured to call Lord Temple's, upon good evidence, as I think, are sufficient to satisfy the other.

The Reverend Mr Fellowes, a correspondent of Mr Barker's, says — 'George Grenville himself could not have been the author of Junius's Letters. The sentiments and the diction were above his reach. He had little illumination of mind and no command of style.'* Mr Fellowes is correct in the fact, that Mr Grenville could not have been the author; but, whether he gives a good reason for it or not, in the incapacity of Mr Grenville, we need not decide, as there is another reason which he strangely overlooked, but which is conclusive — that is, Grenville *died* in the year 1770, but Junius continued to write for two years afterwards.

Mr Barker, after a full and candid examination, and upon the *authority* of Dr Farmer, Dr Forster, Dr Parr, and the late Peter Walsh, Esq. (who, each pursuing a different course arrived at the same point, viz. that Charles Lloyd was the writer), adopts the conclusion — 'that Lloyd was concerned in the authorship of the Letters, either as the amanuensis, or as a collector of intelligence, or "*the conveyancer*" of the Letters themselves.' But the supposition that Lord Temple was the

* Barker's Letters, p. 269.

writer, will render it unnecessary to assume, that Lloyd had any concern whatever in them. Mr Wilkes, Mr Butler, and some others, have considered Junius's praise of Lord Chatham to be 'ironical.' But, if I am not wholly mistaken in the case, this supposition is as unnecessary as the preceding.

From these and other circumstances, it probably happened, that at the time of Junius's Letters, a writer in the Public Advertiser, of Nov. 18, 1771, treated Lord Temple, not as Junius, but as the *patron* of Junius — 'I presume,' says he, 'the conclusion is not a rash one, from these premises, (to omit, for the present, several others), that the patron of Junius is the person characterised in my last — Lord Temple.' *

LETTER XXIV.

Sir,

In reviewing what I have written to you, I find some omissions of particulars, which may be important by way of fortifying my opinion as to the authorship of Junius; and I will endeavor to supply those omissions, though the succeeding remarks would have been better inserted in some of my former letters. I shall mention them, as they occur to me; asking indulgence for the want of order and method in which they are offered,

* Barker's Letters, p. 316.

and which, I fear, has been too much the case in my former letters.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1828, a reviewer of Mr Barker's Letters on Junius, has the following, which is also in the Letters: 'The famous Welsh Judge, George Hardinge, says — I know enough of Junius to know, that he was of Lord Temple's school, and that he wrote that paper from hints and materials prompted by him. So far he was betrayed upon a fact known only to three persons, Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, Lord *Temple*. The *latter, during the whole period of Junius*, was bitter against the two former ; and so was *Junius*, though with an air of guard and candor. Lord Temple had not eloquence or parts enough to have written Junius, but I have no doubt that he knew the author.'

This extract contains some truth, but mixed with some error. It is true, that Junius was of Lord Temple's school, as I have supposed him to be Lord Temple himself. But it is not true, that during the whole period of Junius's Letters, Lord Temple was 'bitter against Lord Chatham and Lord Camden.' On the contrary, it has already appeared, by a comparison of dates, that Lord Temple, though he had *previously* had a 'bitter' quarrel with Lord Chatham, yet in October, 1768, a reconciliation took place, and the next January, (1769), Junius's Letters began, during the whole period of which Junius so far from being 'bitter' against Lord Chatham, was warm in his favor. In his 54th letter, dated the 13th of August, 1771, long before he discontinued writing, he had become so warm a friend of Lord Chatham, as to express his naturally strong feelings in the splendid

eulogy to which I have before alluded, and which I beg leave to insert in this place: 'It seems I am a partisan of the great leader of the opposition. If the charge had been a reproach, it should have been better supported. I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. I well know what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it. But I am called upon to deliver my opinion, and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr Horne, to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem.* As for the common sordid views of avarice or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. *My* vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding — if he judges of what is truly honorable for himself, with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him, to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honors shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conversant in the language of panegyric. These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.' †

It may be asked, what gave occasion to Junius's being called the 'partisan of Lord Chatham,' and by whom was he so called? He had not yet written in praise of him. Was not the remark thrown out, to at-

* See the former opinions of Junius, in my preceeding Letters, p. 87, &c.

† Junius, Lett. 54.

tract notice to what he should say in future numbers respecting Lord Chatham? After this, Lord Chatham, 'had grown upon his esteem' — 'Lord Bute found no resource of dependence or security in the proud imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd inflexible judgment of Mr Grenville.' Again — 'Nothing can be more true than what you say about *great men*. They are indeed a pitiful race. *Chatham* has gallantly thrown away the scabbard and never flinched. *From that moment I began to like him.*'

Dr Good, in his Preliminary Essay, further observes — 'Whether the writer of these letters had any other and less worthy object in view than he uniformly avowed, viz. a desire to subserve the best political interests of his country, it is impossible to ascertain with precision. It is unquestionably no common occurrence in history, to behold a man thus steadily, and almost incessantly, for five years, volunteering his services in the cause of the people, amidst abuse and slander from every party, exposed to universal resentment, unknown, and not daring to be known, without having any *personal object* to acquire, any sinister motive of individual aggrandisement or reward.'

Lord Temple being the author, is a sufficient answer to the above; Junius says of himself what was true of Lord Temple — 'my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.' His hopes also of routing the ministry, and coming into place, were never despaired of till nearly the close of his letters. In a private letter to Woodfall, he writes: 'I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but, *but if things take the turn I expect*, you shall know me *by my*

works.' Things did not, however, take the turn that Lord Temple expected; for he (Junius) writing to Mr Woodfall in 1773, his last private letter, says, 'I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent, but *it is all alike vile and contemptible. I meant the cause and the public* —BOTH ARE GIVEN UP.'

Again — Dr Good, on the subject of the politics of those times, and of Mr Burke's being suspected of the authorship of Junius, says, 'Burke was a decided partisan of Lord Rockingham, and continued so during the whole of that nobleman's life. Junius, on the contrary, was a decided friend to Mr George Grenville. Each was an antagonist to the other upon the great subject of the American Stamp Act.' The above is in part correct, though not as understood by the writer. For when Lord Temple and Mr Pitt withdrew from the ministry, Mr Grenville continued, and acted in concert with those who had been in opposition to Lord Temple and to Mr Pitt. But in consequence of the warm opposition to his Stamp Act, *he* withdrew and united himself again to the interests of Lord Temple and Mr Pitt, although he had formerly been the persecutor of Mr Wilkes. This was the occasion of the remark of Sir William Blackstone in his pamphlet, entitled 'An Answer to the Question Stated,' as noticed by Junius in letter to Sir Wm. Blackstone, thus — 'your first reflection is, that Mr Grenville was, of all men, the person, who *should not* have complained of inconsistence with regard to Mr Wilkes. This, Sir, is an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, &c.' It was Mr Grenville who advised the issuing of the General War-

rant; and it is observed in the same note that Mr Grenville afterwards deserted the ministry and attached himself strenuously to the whig party. Upon this apparent inconsistency Junius (Lord Temple) shrewdly remarks, that whatever propriety or impropriety there might have been in Mr Grenville opposing Wilkes *personally*, the present question had nothing to do with it, as he now supports him not on account of his personal character, but as the instrument of the people at large, whose rights and privileges the ministry have grossly violated by their conduct towards him.'*

It is also said of Junius, that neither his enmity, nor his patriotism hurried him into any of those *political* extravagances, which have peculiarly marked the character of the present age; a limited monarchy he openly preferred to a republic. He strenuously opposed the supporters of the Bill of Rights in their endeavors to restore annual parliaments, and also of disfranchising a number of boroughs, which they regarded as corrupt and rotten; and, anterior to the American contest, was as thoroughly convinced as Mr George Grenville himself, of the supremacy of the legislature of England over the American colonies. †

* Mr Burke speaks thus of Mr Grenville — 'Our little party differences have been long ago composed; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleasure with him, than ever I acted against him; *undoubtedly Mr Grenville was a first rate figure in this country;* with a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain.'

† Dr Good's Preliminary Essay.

Junius observes, 'I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, *in this or any other empire of equal extent*, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours.'

Junius again — 'I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution. When you propose to cut away the *rotten* parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly *sound?* Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop, — at what point the mortification ends?'

If Junius had survived fifty years longer, he might have had as good reason for altering his opinion now, as he had at that time for adopting his own. He might have approved of a republican government as extensive as the empire of Great Britain, and have been convinced, that, both in theory and practice, it is quite as wise a system as a limited monarchy; and that rotten boroughs, if they had any, might be amputated without endangering the whole body politic.

I am, &c.

LETTER XXV.

SIR,

It appears, by Mr Almon's Anecdotes, that Lord Temple came into parliament as a member of the House of Commons, at the general election of 1734; and in 1741 he was re-elected; and, after coming to the peerage, he was of course a member of the House of Lords. I allude again to this circumstance, in consequence of observing, that some of the writers on this subject are of opinion, that Junius was not a member of either House. I think it evident from his Letters, that he must have been a member. Mr Barker infers from a paragraph in one of the Letters to Wilkes, that Junius was not in the House of Lords. The passage is this: 'I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures who call themselves noblemen, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their influence over boroughs.' * This proves, says Mr Barker, that Junius was not a nobleman.† I cannot perceive that the remark warrants such an inference; it amounts to no more than various other general remarks of Junius, — an expression of his contempt for those, who corruptly opposed the liberal whig principles, which he so warmly cherished, and which are the subjects of the letter where this passage occurs. How efficient Lord Temple was in every station to which he was called, has appeared from the preceding Letters; particularly from

* Woodfall's Junius, Letters to Mr Wilkes, No. 66.

† Barker's Letters, p. 119.

the testimony of Lord Chatham himself in parliament, which I have before quoted (p. 99). I add to this, from Almon's Anecdotes, that 'in all measures of consequence, Mr Pitt solely confided in Lord Temple.' *

I have observed (p. 8) that the pamphlet of 1766 is said by Almon to have been *written* by Mr Humphrey Cotes; but that the particular facts were communicated to him, in conversation, by Lord Temple. I add here another extract from Almon's work, taken from a manuscript account of Mr Cotes, showing the importance which the government attached to Lord Temple's talents, and the part he took in regard to public measures, and also proving the close and intimate connexion between Mr Wilkes and Lord Temple. The extract is also important in another point of view — as confirming my opinion, that Lord Temple was, *substantially*, the author of the pamphlet of 1766, though it might, literally speaking, have been written or committed to paper by Mr Cotes. The extract is as follows:

'Mr Wilkes arrived 12 May, 1766, from France with Mr Mackleane (formerly in partnership with Mr Stewart, in a druggist's store at Philadelphia) . . . Mr Wilkes had lodgings with Mr Stuart, Holles-street, Cavendish-square. Mr Cotes did not know of his coming, till he saw the account of his arrival in the Evening Post of Tuesday Mr Wilkes said he had seen several people from the ministers; *they all expressed great wrath against Lord Temple for his strong opposition to their measures;* that he told them, he [Wilkes] had many and singular obligations to Lord Temple; and if that was not the case,

* Anecdotes, vol. i, p. 226, (chap. 14.)

he had so great a regard for Lord Temple's public and private virtues, that nothing under heaven should induce him to do anything that would give that noble lord a moment's uneasiness. He desired me to communicate this to Lord Temple I went immediately to Lord Temple's bed-side, and related the above to him. He seemed extremely satisfied with Mr Wilkes's conduct, and wished most heartily that the ministers might be as good as their promises. He desired me to convey his kind compliments to Mr Wilkes, and assure him of his friendship, and approbation of his conduct on the present occasion; at the same time he told me that he was very certain that Lord Rockingham had not the least intention of serving Mr Wilkes. Mr Wilkes was extremely satisfied with Lord Temple's answer, but seemed to think he should succeed with the ministers. He continued in the same sentiments a week I saw him on Monday, when my friend was much lowered in his expectations, but said he should see Mr Fitsherbert next day, and hoped things would go better. Next day he told me he had got into a damn'd scrape, and believed he had been deceived. Mr Wilkes returned to France.'

From the above account, it appears, by Mr Cotes's going to Lord Temple's bed-side immediately, to communicate Mr Wilkes's arrival, that he was in familiar intercourse with Lord Temple, perhaps his private secretary; and, in writing the pamphlet, he, probably, ('assisted by another' *), gave it in Lord Temple's own words. Indeed, I was so fully impressed, from the be-

* See p. 8.

ginning, before having seen any of these things, that I did not hesitate, as you know, in ascribing the pamphlet to Lord Temple.

In the course of my inquiry, I have often been surprised at the assertions made, respecting Junius and his opinions, without any foundation. Mr Chalmers, in his book, ascribing Junius to Mr Boyd, has this remark — that 'Mr Almon says, Junius always speaks handsomely of Lord Temple, praising his firmness, perseverance, patriotism, and virtue;' and that Almon adds, from his own knowledge, that whenever Boyd spoke of Lord Temple, it was always in similar terms. But I would ask, where does Junius praise Lord Temple? I have before remarked to you, that he does not even name him in the body of his Letters; and in the notes, he simply mentions his name in the casual manner I have noticed.* This omission was one of the very circumstances which originally excited my suspicions as to the authorship.

On this point, Mr Barker has a just remark in relation to the claims of Sir Philip Francis. He says — 'I would have the reader consider, whether the little, however pardonable, vanity of referring to himself by name, as Sir Philip Francis does in the anonymous pamphlet, is not more characteristic of himself than of the high-minded and proud Junius.' †

Permit me to add, in this place, a remark or two in respect to Mr. Taylor's work on the claims of Sir Philip Francis. He states, that 'Sir Philip declares he was in the House of Lords on the night (January 9, 1770)

* See p. 3.

† Barker's Letters, p. 48.

this speech was made, and that he heard Lord Chatham make use of the very words which it contains. In this instance the identity is brought home.' 'I heard it from Lord Chatham,' says Sir Philip, 'that power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination.' Mr Barker very properly asks, 'what evidence is there that Sir Philip was not hired to report these two speeches' of Lord Chatham. But Lord Temple was present, as you will see by the journals of that debate, and of course heard it himself. * Again; Mr Barker says — 'I must, in the most positive manner, deny the possibility of his [Sir Philip] having the leisure to write the public Letters of Junius, which pre-suppose the most ample leisure, and the most undivided attention.' Now Lord Temple had both, and, as we have seen also, had the motives, and inclination.

It is said by Mr Taylor, that at the meeting of parliament in January, 1770, a great struggle was made to effect a change of ministers. On this occasion, it is evident, how much he [Junius] was personally interested. A fortnight before the opening, he wrote to Woodfall — 'I doubt much whether I shall ever have the

* Though Lord Temple was present at this debate, yet the speech was probably reported by some other person for him. In Almon's Anecdotes (vol. ii, p. 76), which were in part furnished by Lord Temple, it is stated, that Lord Chatham's 'speeches on that day have fortunately met with a better fate than many of his former speeches, for they were accurately taken by a gentleman of strong memory, now [1791] a member of the House of *Commons;* and from his notes they are here printed.' They were probably furnished to Almon by Lord Temple.—*Edit.*

pleasure of knowing you; but *if things take the turn I expect*, you shall know me by my works.' *Private Letters to Woodfall*, No. 17. No one in the kingdom could be more deeply interested than Lord Temple; he and his friends were anticipating a change, which should bring them into power; and in that event, doubtless Mr Woodfall would have known Junius 'by his works.'

'The real Junius,' says Mr Barker, 'was evidently an *early* friend of Almon.' * Lord Temple was this friend; as we have seen from various circumstances, as well as the declarations of Almon himself.

Mr Barker quotes from a letter of Mr Calcraft to Almon, dated 'Ingress, Dec. 29, 1771,' the following: 'You cannot conceive either the questions I am asked, or the innumerable reports about Lord Temple.' And the same gentleman says, Jan. 1772, 'I am glad there is a prospect of another *Letter*.' † Mr Calcraft was a particular friend of Lord Temple, and was the mediator who brought about the reconciliation between him and Lord Chatham. I cannot but think he suspected Lord Temple as the author of Junius, and hoped to draw it out from Almon. At the dates of these two letters, Junius was attacking Lord Mansfield.

I am, &c.

* Barker's Letters, page 128. † Ibid, 146.

LETTER XXVI.

Sir,

I have already given you some extracts from Lord Temple's Pamphlet, of 1766, called *An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honorable Commoner* (Mr Pitt), for comparison with the language and sentiments of Junius. I now send more, to be used in connexion with those already in your possession.

'Until they thunder at our gate.'— *Junius's Miscellaneous Letters*, No. 47, (Oct. 15, 1768).

'He *thundered* against Hanover.' — *Enquiry, &c.*

'The incapacity of their (the administration) leaders to promote any other without *widening their bottom.*'— *Miscellaneous Letters*, No 49.

'In order to *widen* and strengthen the *bottom* of his administration. — *Enquiry.*

'His being *plunged* into a correspondence of courts.' *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. 49.

'He *plunged* us deeper into the German war.' *Enquiry.*

'I would not descend to a reproachful word against men (the ministry), whose *persons I hardly know.*' *Atticus*, page 291.

'A *ministry* whose *names* were *almost unknown* till they appeared in the Gazette.'— *Enquiry.*

'He (Mr Pitt) is indeed a compound of *contradictions.*' — *Miscellaneous Letters*, page 260.

'With whom, besides, is the late Commoner (Mr Pitt) in league? With Col. Barre, who called him a heap of *contradictions*.' — *Enquiry*.

'It is true I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that I am in earnest, because I am convinced,' &c. — *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. 54, in 1769.

'Earl Temple, who, with a magnanimity almost peculiar to himself, disdained to wear the chains, or put on the livery of such an incompetent statesman (Bute), such a contemptible being; and at first urged, and at length forced the Commoner (Mr Pitt) into resignation; which he accompanied with his own, in order to give an example of spirit and resistance to an *usurpation*, so exceedingly dangerous to both court and people.'

Enquiry.

'Mr Pitt acquainted him (Lord Temple), that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to send for him to form an administration; and as he thought his Lordship indispensable, he desired his Majesty to send for him, and to put him at the head of the Treasury; and that he himself would take the post of Privy Seal.'

Enquiry, 1766.

Earl Temple refused.

'I have refused offers, &c.' *Junius*, as above.

But without selecting passages or single words and expressions, I may remark, that the spirit of that whole pamphlet is found running through Junius's Letters.

There is one other passage, however, in a letter of Junius (under his signature of Atticus), dated as early as October 10, 1763, and which, though not immediately connected with this point, contains so much matter for reflection, that you will excuse me for transcribing it; it is strictly *prophetic*, and is an illustration of the keen penetration, bold conceptions, and discriminating mind of Junius.

After describing the different characters in the ministry at that time, he proceeds; 'Such is the council by which the best of Sovereigns is advised, and the greatest nation upon earth governed. Separately, the figures are only offensive; in a group, they are formidable. Commerce languishes, manufactures are oppressed; and public credit already feels her approaching dissolution; yet, under the direction of this council, *we are to prepare for a dreadful contest with the Colonies, and a war with the whole House of Bourbon.* I am not surprised that the generality of men should endeavor to shut their eyes to this melancholy prospect. Yet I am filled with grief and indignation, when I behold a wise and gallant people lost in stupidity, which does not feel, because it will not *look forward.* The voice of one man will hardly be heard, when the voice of truth and reason is neglected; but as far as mine extends, *the authors of our ruin shall be marked out to the public.* I will not tamely submit to be sacrificed, nor *shall this country perish without warning.*' * I am, &c.

* Junius's Miscellaneous Letters, No. 48.

LETTER XXVII.

SIR,

I have frequently alluded to the respectful and friendly terms in which Lord Temple, throughout the Letters of Junius, has spoken of his brother Mr George Grenville; and, in regard to his political character, he has not unfrequently 'travelled out of the record,' (as he asserted of Lord Mansfield), either to compliment his statesman-like sagacity, or to screen him from any odium, which he apprehended would attach to him in consequence of his unpopular measures. This great tenderness towards his brother, who was acting with a ministry in opposition to himself, when compared with the invectives against Lord Chatham, his brother-in-law, is apparent to every observing reader. I refer to it again, for the purpose of adding one other remark — that I think it arose not so much from any inconsistency of the one more than the other; but that Lord Temple's ambition and feelings were vastly more interested in protecting and building up the character of his brother George, than of his brother-in-law, for this reason, perhaps, among others, that the vast estates and great honors of the Earl Temple were to be inherited by the son of Mr George Grenville, himself being without issue. *After* the reconciliation with Lord Chatham, it is true Junius did not fail to bind the brows of that great man, also, with never-fading laurels.

I give another instance or two of what I remarked in relation to Mr Grenville; from the Miscellaneous Letters, No. 86:

'Who is Lord North? — The son of a poor unknown Earl — who four years ago was a needy commissioner

of the Treasury for the benefit of a subsistence, and who would have accepted a commission of hackney coaches upon the same terms. The politics of Carlton-House —*finances picked up in Mr Grenville's anti-chamber*,' &c.

In 1765, the Falkland Islands were taken possession of by Capt. Byron, and had been quietly suffered by Spain to remain in the hands of his Britannic Majesty, who had erected a fort on the coast, called Fort Egmont, in 1769. Without any complaint, the Spanish landed a force and took the fort, and sent the troops back to England in two English frigates, which chanced to be in the harbor. For this treatment, England never obtained complete satisfaction. Junius's Miscellaneous Letter, No. 87, is on this subject, and appears to be written with much sincerity and feeling for the rights and honor of the British Nation; and he signs his letter — 'A Member of one House of Parliament, in Mourning for the Honor of his King and Country!'

This long signature indicates the writer to be a member of Parliament; which is an answer to those writers, who assert, that Junius was not a member of either House.

From Miscellaneous Letter No. 31 — 'Your correspondent confesses, that Mr Grenville is still respectable; yet he warns the friends of that gentleman not to provoke him, lest he should tell them what they may not like to hear. He means as little when he threatens, as when he condescends to applaud. Let us meet upon the fair ground of truth, and if *he finds one vulnerable part in Mr Grenville's character*, let him fix his poisoned arrow there.' I am, &c.

LETTER XXVIII.

SIR,

Before I conclude these letters, I must notice a few other circumstances, which have been introduced into the Junius controversy, though some of them are of little weight, compared with the evidence resulting from the leading facts already considered at large. But the minor circumstances, to which I allude, having been brought into the discussion, cannot be entirely overlooked.

You have observed, that I pay little attention to some parts of this evidence, such as the comparison of Junius's hand-writing, his being supposed to be a tall gentleman, with bag and sword, &c. As to the first, I know of no other fact than has been before mentioned (see above, p. 141, note); and as to Junius's person, we have no information upon which the least reliance is to be placed; it is all conjecture upon conjecture.

In Junius's Letter to Woodfall, of December, 1770, he says — 'When the book is finished, let me have a set, bound in vellum, gilt, and lettered JUNIUS, 1. 2., as handsomely as you can — the edges gilt. Let the sheets be well dried before binding. I must also have two sets in blue paper covers. This is all the fee I shall ever desire of you.' *

As others have given their opinions upon the place of deposit of these volumes, 'bound in vellum and gilt,' I may also be allowed to say, that I have no doubt they are in the Library of the Duke of Buckingham,

* Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 47.

deposited in the family Library at Stowe, by Lord Temple; perhaps with the intention, if not instructions, to be forthcoming at a future day, as evidence to the world, of the name of their noble author.

A circumstance equally worthy of notice, and of a more definite and certain character, is the following. I have remarked to you, that Junius has not named Lord Temple throughout his Letters.

I would notice another singularity of this kind. Mr Almon, who published the Anecdotes of Lord Chatham in three volumes, says in a letter on sending a copy of the work to the Dowager Countess of Chatham — 'From your Ladyship's noble brother, the late Earl Temple, I received *the most interesting of these Anecdotes;* his Lordship honored me with his friendship many years.' As Junius, in his letters, does not name Lord Temple, so, Lord Temple, or Almon, in these three volumes, to which he contributed so largely, does not name Junius! It is true, indeed, that, in the Appendix, on the very last leaves of the third volume, among the numerous eulogies on the character of Lord Chatham, after his death, we find the highly wrought panegyric of Junius on Lord Chatham, which I have already inserted (see above, p. 187); and this remarkable and celebrated eulogy, is inserted by Almon (or shall I say, by Lord Temple himself?), with no other remark than this simple title — '*A Few Lines by* JUNIUS — *first published on the* 15*th of August*, 1771.'

I am, &c.

LETTER XXIX.

Sir,

In a late letter (page 168), in which I spoke of the *age* of Lord Temple at the period of Junius's Letter to Woodfall, of the 27th Nov. 1771, I had not ascertained it with exactness, though sufficiently so for the purpose of this inquiry. My friend, Mr C*****, to whom I have been indebted for several favors of this kind, has since handed me a memorandum from *Salmon's Peerage*, by which, I find, that Lord Temple was born on the 20th of September, 1711; this would make him sixty years of age at the time of Junius's Letter, above-mentioned; or, in his fiftyeighth year when the regular series of *Junius* began, January 21, 1769. He might, therefore, with propriety, speak of 'his long experience of the world.' I should not have taken the trouble to mention a second time a circumstance, which does not essentially affect the argument founded upon the age of Junius, but that I feel an anxious desire to have everything stated, if possible, with perfect correctness; having often observed, how many errors have found their way into the discussions of this subject, from the mere want of exact attention to matters of fact, which required only careful observation, without any scholarship or literary skill to settle. With this impression I originally began the investigation; carefully attending to the history, characters, private anecdotes, and public acts of the parties concerned in the transactions of the period when Junius was writing; and en-

deavoring to settle with precision the date and circumstances of every occurrence, however minute, which would have any bearing on the question. And, if I have succeeded, as I do most firmly believe, in ascertaining the author, it has been owing to this mode of pursuing the inquiry, unbiassed by the names and authority of any who had written upon the subject.

My own very limited reading in works of literature, had not even brought under my notice all the works, which had appeared on this controversy. It is fortunate that I was not indebted to you for the use of Mr Barker's book at an earlier period; for there I find the opinions of so many eminent writers, men of critical acumen, of giant intellect, and many of them expressing opinions on the authorship of Junius, with the most positive and undoubting confidence, that I should almost have been led to discard the evidence of my own senses, and to renounce my own settled convictions. On one occasion, when a friend put into my hands, Mr Taylor's book, 'Junius Identified,' though I had before come to the conclusion that Lord Temple was the author, and had made memorandums to that effect, yet, after reading it, and taking into consideration that the author was on the spot, the very theatre of action, and above all being too much influenced by his positiveness, I was induced for a time to lay aside my own opinions for future reflection, and await the time when the authorship of Sir Philip Francis should be called in question. And I can say with truth, that if I had read Mr Barker's extensive work, where are collected the opinions of a host of men of the highest order, such as those above named, before entering on the inquiry myself, I should,

by this array of talents, have been as much in despair, as if I had had before my eyes, Dante's celebrated inscription on the entrance to another region — 'Let him who enters here, abandon hope.'

But, to pursue my inquiry — I have a few more particulars in relation to Lord Temple and his connexions; and also some further remarks upon the various opinions respecting Junius.

I request your attention once more to the *Anecdotes of Lord Chatham*, published by Almon, who, as we have seen, was familiarly called, 'Lord Temple's man.' Considering the materials of that work, at least, 'the most interesting' part of them, to have been furnished by Lord Temple, as Almon himself declares, it becomes one of the important means of pursuing our investigation; particularly, as there are several portions of it, which, to my mind, bear strong marks of the hand of Lord Temple, or Junius himself.

In the preface, the author observes — that 'the Anecdotes, which he has here committed to paper, were, all of them, in their day, very well known. They were the subject of public conversation. But they have not been published. His situation gave him a knowledge of them, and a personal acquaintance with several of the events. It was *his custom to keep a diary;* in which he minuted all such circumstances as seemed to him most worthy of remembrance. He has endeavored to state the facts, *as nearly as possible, in the original language;* and with *the original coloring* in which they were spontaneously given at the moment.' He further observes, that those marked, MS. in the margin, are now first printed from the Editor's *Notes;*

or from *those of particular friends*, who have obligingly assisted him.'

The author also states, in his letter to the Dowager Countess of Chatham, sent with a copy of the book — 'From your Ladyship's noble brother, the late Earl Temple, I received *the most interesting of these Anecdotes;* his Lordship honored me with his friendship and esteem *many years*.

Now, Sir, who can look upon these anecdotes, '*the most interesting among them*,' as having been furnished by Lord Temple, the brother-in-law of Lord Chatham, and read, for example, the account there given of the reconciliation between his Lordship and his brother, Mr Grenville — the latter unbosoming himself to his brother, relating all the intrigues of Lord Bute, and increasing Lord Temple's ardor on every subsequent occasion — without applying the remarks to the writer of Junius. I confess, to me, it is impossible.

I add one other little circumstance from Mr Barker's Letters, showing, at once, the free intercourse subsisting between Lord Temple and Mr Almon, and also the patriotic feelings which to the last continued to animate the former. 'Stowe, Aug. 24, 1779. Lord Temple is much obliged to Mr Almon for the interesting intelligence he has sent; is perfectly well in health, and not a little unhappy at the state of the country.'*

It gives us pain to know, that in a few days after this letter, while he was, as he there says, 'perfectly well in health,' this distinguished man came to his death prematurely, by a severe accident, as stated in the fol-

* Barker's Letters, p. 148.

lowing obituary notice in the London Magazine for September, 1779.

'Died at his seat at Stowe, The Right Honorable Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham, Earl Temple. His Lordship was thrown from his phaeton, and, unhappily, fractured his skull by the fall. In the capacity of Privy Councillor, he was of infinite service to his country during the glorious administration of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Chatham.'

The more I have studied the character of Lord Temple, and, the more I have seen of the treatment which he received, I am constrained to say, that he was not only warranted in the course he adopted in the Letters of Junius, but that he is deserving the highest honors that an Englishman, who is determined to be free, can bestow on one, who has done so much towards protecting that freedom. And, as Junius himself prophesied in his Letter to the Rev. Mr Horne — 'Without meaning an indecent comparison, I may venture to foretell, that the Bible and Junius will be read, when the commentaries of the Jesuits are forgotten.'

I beg leave, in this place, to supply a little omission with regard to the family connexion of Lord Temple, which may be necessary to make more intelligible the operation of that cause, so far as relates to the feelings and motives of himself and his friends. In my first letter, I observed, that the Lord *Lyttleton* there mentioned was the same, whom Lord Temple recommended to Mr Pitt to join in the ministry. It should have been stated further, that he was also cousin to Lord Temple, and they were much in public life together. They were both nephews of Lord Cobham; Lord

Temple being a child of the eldest sister of that nobleman.*

You will excuse me, if the interest I take in the subject of these letters leads me to add, by way of postscript to the present one, a short description of the seat of Earl Temple, at Stowe — the gardens of which have been so long celebrated. The whole, if I may so speak, corresponds in magnificence, liberality, and taste, with what we may well suppose to have belonged to the high-minded, honorable, and finished English gentleman, who appeared as Junius.

STOWE,

THE COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF EARL TEMPLE.

'Stowe is a parish in the county of Buckingham, England, and is noted for a magnificent seat of the Marquis of Buckingham. Peter Temple, Esq. was the first of the family who settled at Stowe, in the year 1554, and who erected a mansion-house on the estate;

* The family name of Lord *Temple*, as we have seen, was *Grenville*, there having been an ancient alliance between the Temples and the Grenvilles. The connexion between the Temples and the families of the Winthrops and Bowdoins, in the United States, is well known to you.

The Temple family was very numerous; for Esther, who died 1656, aged 88, Lady of Sir Thomas Temple, Baronet, lived to see 700 of her descendants, as is affirmed by Dr Thomas Fuller, in his 'Worthies of England;' who relates that he bought the truth thereof by a wager lost on the subject. The last of these, whom Lady Temple saw, was the daughter of Sir Henry Gibbs, who died 1737, at extreme old age. This last, was sister to Robert Gibbs, merchant, who emigrated to Boston, New England, about 1660. William Gibbs, Esq. of this town (Salem), is a descendant.

but this was taken down and rebuilt by Sir Richard Temple, K. B., who died in 1697. His son, Lord Cobham (brother to Earl Temple's mother), enlarged the mansion by building a new front, and adding two wings; but the late Marquis of Buckingham, and his predecessor, Earl Temple, made still greater alterations and improvements in this place. The whole front of regular and uniform architecture, now extends 916 feet, of which the centre is 454 feet. It consists of a centre, or body, with two wings, connected by apartments. A flight of 31 steps leads to the grand saloon, an oval apartment, 60 feet by 40, surrounded by scaliola columns, imitative of Sicilian jasper. The pannels, cornice, and dome, are all adorned with sculpture and other ornaments, to produce a splendid effect. A state drawing-room, 50 feet by 32; a state gallery, 70 feet by 25; a library; and several drawing-rooms, eating-rooms, &c. constitute the principal floor. A library, fitted up to receive Saxon MSS. and old literature, has recently been formed here from the design of John Soane, Esq. Most of the apartments are enriched with pictures, and fitted up in a splendid style. The gardens or pleasure grounds of Stowe, are, however, more celebrated than the mansion; they consist of 400 acres, and present a great variety of surface, scenery, and objects. In some places they display bold swells, with narrow and winding vallies; the principal of which is filled with a broad and pellucid lake. In one part this forms a cascade, and over it is a palladian bridge. In different parts of these gardens are several ornamental buildings, consisting of temples, columns, arches, &c. The beauties and characteristic features of this justly noted seat have

been extolled in the poetry of West, Pope, and Hammond; and are fully described in an octavo volume, published in 1797, entitled "A Description of the House and Garden at Stowe," with thirtythree plates; most of which were drawn and engraved in a tasteful style, by T. Midland.' It appears by Pinkerton's Travels, that splendid additions were made to this place at Stowe by Earl Temple. I am, &c.

LETTER XXX.

Sir,

I perceive, on a review of my letters, which have been written without any regularity, as the daily avocations of business permitted, that there are still some things requiring a few additional remarks.

In my former Letters to you (page 8), I said, in speaking of the Pamphlet of 1766, that Lord Chesterfield had ascribed it to Lord Temple, but added that 'he thought it above him.' This remark, coming from Lord Chesterfield, did not at all lower my respect for the talents of Lord Temple; as most men have united in giving him the praise of being of a high order of intellect; this was decidedly the opinion of those who knew him best, as Mr Wilkes, Mr Almon, and Lord Chatham, the latter of whom declared him to be one of the greatest characters the country had produced. But

in consequence of your suggestions, that there must be some mistake in my application of Lord Chesterfield's remark, I have re-examined the subject. I am now satisfied that an error has occurred. Lord Chesterfield did not make the remark in allusion to Lord Temple. The error arose from the London Magazine, in which I found the remark. In that work, the letter of Lord Chesterfield of 25th August, 1765, is dated August, 1766 (see London Magazine, 1774, the place of my authority, where I first saw it); and when I read it I was much surprised, being abundantly satisfied, that such an opinion of Lord Temple, coming from any quarter, would be an erroneous one; but being printed on the same page with a Letter of Lord Chesterfield properly dated August, 1766, it was impossible for me not to be led into the mistake. The Letter of Lord Chesterfield is dated 14th Aug. 1766, to which Mr Almon alludes (as quoted by me above, page 8), and where Lord Chesterfield ascribes the pamphlet to Lord Temple. Of this there can be no doubt, as Lord Chesterfield quotes from the pamphlet itself. And this is the same pamphlet, which, from the first, I ascribed to Lord *Temple*. Lord Chesterfield says, 14th August, 1766, 'The causes and consequences of Mr Pitt's quarrel now appear in print, in a pamphlet published *by Lord Temple*, and a refutation of it, not by Mr Pitt himself, I believe, but by some friend of his, and under his sanction. The former betrays private conversation. My lord says, that in his last conference *he thought he had as good right to nominate the new ministry as Mr Pitt*, and consequently named Lord Gower, Lord Lyttleton, &c., which Mr Pitt not consent-

ing to, Lord Temple broke up the conference, and in his wrath went to Stowe It is certain that Mr Pitt has, by his dignity of Earl, *lost the greatest part of his popularity*, especially in the city; and I believe the opposition will be very strong, and perhaps prevail next session in the House of Commons, there being now nobody there who can have the authority that Mr Pitt had.'

Remarks — Lord Temple having been sent for by the king, he certainly expected to participate in the nominations to the new ministry, as Mr Pitt had declared that they had acted together, retired together, and would live and die together. If in his wrath he went to Stowe, Mr Pitt certainly was not long kept in suspense, in what manner that wrath would be employed; for his own popularity was soon on the wane, and he was ever after unhappy, till he had done justice to Lord Temple, by making him reparation. This he did in 1768, when his generous brother forgave him, and not only ever after ceased to write against him, but did ample justice to his exalted talents.

I add a remark, by way of explanation of the letter of 1765, which occasioned the above oversight. The letter in which Lord Chesterfield ascribes a pamphlet to Lord T—— (adding that 'he thinks it above him'), was published in the London Magazine, and mis-dated August, 1766; and this latter date being the same with Lord Temple's pamphlet, I supposed, without making a critical examination, alluded to that nobleman by the name of Lord T——; but when he says I think it is above him, he adds, 'but perhaps his brother C—— T—— assisted him.' I now perceive he could not

have meant Lord *Temple*, but doubtless alluded to Lord Townsend, assisted by his brother, Charles Townsend; his remark therefore applies, of course, to some other pamphlet, published a year before Lord Temple's.

As I have endeavored to be scrupulously particular in all my statements, I hope it will not be too late to correct this oversight, more especially as we get rid of one opinion, which I had ascribed to Chesterfield, and the only one I have met with, that Lord Temple was not quite as competent to such a work as any man in England.

I have said, also (in my first letter, page 4), that Lord Temple and Mr Pitt resigned their places in 1761–2. It appears by Almon's Anecdotes of Chatham, that this took place on the 5th of October, 1761.* In the same volume is Mr Pitt's letter 'to the town-clerk of the city of London,' explaining the motives of their resignation. This letter was written in order to repel the malignant calumnies which were circulated on that occasion. It is dated Oct. 15, 1761, which is correct. But in Woodfall's Junius, vol. 2, page 157, of the *American* edition, this transaction appears to have occurred in 1765, and the letter of Mr Pitt, just referred to, bears date Oct. 14, 1765. This is an error. I have also seen the same letter, somewhere, dated in 1766. I am, &c.

* Anecdotes, chap. xx, page 280, 7th edition, London, 1810.

LETTER XXXI.

Sir,

I send you the following extract from a New-Haven Journal, respecting the *Stowe Papers*, as they have been called, which have been lately discovered in England:

'JUNIUS — The Monthly Magazine, in an article warmly applauding the work recently published in New-York by an American, (Mr Fellows), identifying Junius with Horne Tooke, and recommending its publication in England, says — that Lord Grenville is said to hold in his possession five letters, which indisputably prove the name of the author of Junius. He has provided for the publication of these documents on his death, and, in the mean while, the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Nugent are pledged to silence; it is also stated, that Lord Grenville has said the real author *is not any of the persons who have been suspected.*'

This is, substantially, the same account, which, as I have lately learned from you, has been published in several English periodicals; from which it has been copied by Mr Barker, from whose Letters I here transcribe it in its different versions. The earliest notice of this discovery, Mr Barker says, appeared in *The Inspector*, (a Magazine published monthly by Effingham Wilson), for October, 1827, No. 18, p. 585; and is as follows:

'*August* 27. The murder 's out — *Junius is at last discovered!* and, strange to say, never once scented.

Months ago I mentioned, that at a party-conciliation dinner given by Mr Whitbread in 1805, at which Mr Fox, Mr Canning, Lord Grenville, and my father were present, Lord Grenville emphatically declared, "*I know the real Junius* — but the secret will not transpire in my life-time." In answer to a question of Mr Canning, his lordship replied, "He is not any of the persons suspected — his name has never been coupled in any way with Junius's." Sir Philip Francis, one of the party, was not then mentioned.

'I have myself been a bit of a *Junius*-hunter, and have for some time taken a place among the foremost of the *Franciscans*. No merely circumstantial evidence could shake my faith in Francis's identity. It appears, however, that I lack His Holiness the Pope's prerogative of infallibility, and that I was mistaken in affiliating the *Junius-Letters* to Sir Philip Francis. So at least my fat friend, Lord Nugent, tells me. Nugent is burstingly big with the secret, and I am burstingly big to get possession of it. My longing, I am sorry to say, is not likely to be very soon gratified. Wish I heard nothing about the matter, and that the "precious documents," as Chandos calls them, had reposed some time longer in peaceful dust. The simple history of the discovery is, that some six weeks ago, as Lord Nugent and his Grace of Buckingham were private-paper hunting in the Stowe Library, they lit upon a parcel studiously concealed in a, to them, unknown recess. The parcel contained three *Letters:* one from *Junius* under his fictitious signature; another to George Grenville asking for legal advice as to the risk of publishing the *Letter to the King* WITH THE

REAL NAME; and a third, enclosing *Junius's Letter* to Lord Mansfield, with the author's initials. References are made in the last to a *Letter* from George Grenville to the author. The Duke went off post-haste to Dropmore * with the parcel. Lord Grenville at once recognised it, and declared his intention of providing for the publicity of the documents after his death — but not till then. At his request, the Duke and Lord Nugent have pledged themselves to silence, till that event shall have taken place; and thus I, and all others interested in the matter, are forced to stifle our curiosity as well as we can. Curiosity is a questionable phrase here — it smacks of Eve and Eve's daughters. I care not who wrote the *Letters*: but I wish to know, as a curious chapter in the history of the human mind, the motives, which impelled the great libeller in the first instance to write those matchless productions, at such an expense of time and trouble; and which urged him to conceal himself, when the storm had passed over, and when the fame of those *Letters* was far more than a counterbalance to the risk of the discovery. After all, I fear I shall not have a hundred years to wait for the gathering of the noble statesman to the last mansion of his fathers.'

In the London *Times*, January 1, 1828, the discovery was thus announced: —

'Five *Letters* are deposited in the archives of the Grenville family at Stowe, which establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, the real author of *Junius*. This eminent individual was politically connected with Mr George Grenville, the grandfather of the present Duke

* The residence of Lord Grenville. — *Ed.*

of Buckingham, from whom these autograph-proofs have descended to the present possessor. The venerable statesman, nearly allied to the Duke of Buckingham, has requested the discovery should not be published during his lifetime. It is, however, confidently asserted, that in all the controversies relating to these celebrated Letters, *the author of them has not been named.* (*Morning Chronicle.*)'

The London *Literary Gazette*, of January 12, 1828, gives the account as follows: —

'*Junius.* — In our first Review will be found certain allusions to the authorship of *Junius's Letters;* upon which, by the by, a new light has lately broken. It is stated that the original of the famous *Letter to the King* has been recently discovered at Stowe (the Duke of Buckingham's), *with the signature of the writer;* and it is added, *that none of the theories yet maintained have hit the real person.* Our opinion leant to Lord G. Sackville; but, strong as the circumstantial evidence is *for* him, we are assured there is an allusion to him in one of *Junius's Letters* ('that he liked to be in the rear'), which destroys the whole fabric, as it is undoubtedly the last thing, which he would have allowed to be written. Burke we never believed in; Sir P. Francis we have always disbelieved in; and Dr Wilmot, though supported by the Princess of Cumberland, &c. &c. &c. has never been our *Junius.* It has always been thought evident that the writer was connected with the Grenville family, and, therefore, it is likely enough that an *escritoire* at Stowe should produce this revelation; but it is said that Lord Grenville has requested it to be

kept sacred during his life. Lloyd, the secretary of the Right Hon. G. Grenville (if we recollect rightly), has been frequently mentioned (by Parr, Horne Tooke, &c.) as *the* Junius; but we are assured that Junius's last *Letter to Woodfall* was dated only two days before Lloyd's death, under circumstances which make it impossible that he could have been the correspondent. We have only further to observe, that what adds to the probability of the new rumor is, that Junius, in another *Letter* about the period in question, threatens to consummate his work by one grand stroke — such as it would have been to publish his *Letter to the King*, subscribed by his real name.'

Notwithstanding the strong and positive manner in which this discovery is announced, 'and professedly derived from the authority of Lord Nugent,' yet, says Mr Barker, 'it is by no means correct, as the reader will see by referring to a statement which the kindness of a friend will enable me to employ in the preface to this volume.' He adds — 'But what shows the propriety of receiving such statements with great caution is this; that I was informed by a friend, who received his intelligence from a gentleman of literary character, then recently arrived in London from Stowe, that the discovery just made there, confirmed the claims of Charles Lloyd beyond all doubt!' *

The statement thus furnished by Mr Barker's friend, and inserted in the Preface to his Letters, is as follows;

'In p. 312, the Author has inserted some matter taken from the *Inspector*, relative to the recent discove-

* Barker's Letters, p. 313.

ries at Stowe; a friend has desired him to correct the statement:—

"*London, March* 22, 1823. Allow me to make the following assertions, that your readers may not be misled by a document, which has evidently been fabricated to gain the *Magazine* some notoriety. 1. I can assure you from the best authority, and I have every reason to believe it, that Lord Nugent and the Duke of Buckingham never lit upon a parcel concealed in an unknown recess. 2. That they found no Letter to George Grenville from Junius, asking for legal advice as to the risk of publishing the *Letter to the King*, with the real name. 3. That there was no Letter enclosing Junius's Letter to Lord Mansfield, with the author's initials. 4. That the Duke of Buckingham never went to Dropmore with any such parcel. 5. That Lord Grenville never declared his intention of providing for the publicity of such documents after his decease. 6. That the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Nugent never pledged themselves to silence until Lord Grenville's decease. 7. That Lord Grenville at his advanced age is totally uninterested in the subject, and never makes it the theme of conversation, or of research. 8. That Lord Nugent never considered himself justified in conversing with his uncle on the subject, knowing that it was one, which afforded him no interest. 10. That the claims of Charles Lloyd (independently of his going abroad after the decease of George Grenville), are too vague to justify even a suspicion that he was in any manner concerned in the publication of the *Letters*. 11. That most men entertain opinions of their own upon this mysterious subject, and it is highly probable that Lord

Nugent may suspect some individual, whose name has hitherto been withheld from the public; but of such suspicion he has no positive evidence.

'"I have now given a full reply to the paragraph in the *Inspector*, and I pledge my word that I have advanced nothing, but what I have it in my power fully to substantiate. You are at liberty, therefore, to prefix it to your forthcoming publication. The images, illustrations, and similies, so industriously collected and contained in your *Appendix*, show that the author was a man of the world, well read upon every subject — that he was a classic scholar, a play-reader, and an historian, an enemy to the priesthood, and one who had an inveterate detestation of the chicanery of the law."

'There is a reference to Lord Nugent in the *Preface* p. x, to *The Vices, a Poem in three Cantos, by the Author of the Letters of Junius;* — "Who this writer was, is still a mystery. We are told that Lord Nugent has recently made discoveries, which are not, however, to be publicly developed till after the decease of a living statesman; but the same expectation has been so often raised in vain, that, until the proofs are adduced, or we have the high authority of the noble Lord in an authentic form, the story must be regarded as legendary."'

But this is not all the evidence in relation to the *Stowe Papers*. Mr Barker gives two other extracts from letters of his friends 'who take much interest in the question of Junius.' They are as follows: —

'*London, Jan.* 25, 1828. This very day a friend, who is very intimate with the Duke of Buckingham, informed me that a short time before the Duke went

abroad, he wrote to him thus — "What will you give me, if I tell you who was the author of *Junius? I know it;* but the secret must be kept *some time* longer." I understand the Duke found some *family-papers*, by which he is, no doubt, in full possession of the secret.'

'*Jan.* 16, 1828. I have, however, some information for you relative to the Grenvilles, to which family Junius and Lloyd seem to have leaned in their political attachments and writings. I was informed some time ago that the Duke of Buckingham had, from certain documents, found in his archives, discovered who really was the author of the *Letters of Junius*. Not having the honor of his Grace's acquaintance, I wrote to a friend, who had been in the habit of spending a considerable portion of his time at Stowe, to let me know whether he had heard anything upon the subject during his stay there, and whether the Duke was inclined to make public the documents. In answer he informed me, that he had heard his Grace express himself to the effect of knowing who Junius was, and that his name was not among those, *who had ever been suspected.* My friend was not inclined to trespass further upon his Grace's communicativeness; he was privileged to eat his mutton, drink his claret, and ride his horses, but, although a man of respectable rank, not authorised to question his noble host upon such matters. What his Grace's documents or suppositions are, I therefore know not, whether worth anything, or nothing.'

Upon which statements Mr Barker makes the following just and discriminating comment; —

'From these authentic statements it is evident that, though the Stowe-discovery is not so important as the

writer in the *Inspector* represents, it is of so much importance that the Duke of Buckingham considers himself to have detected the name of the writer; and the reader will remark that in the statement, which comments on the article extracted from the *Inspector*, there is no attempt to deny the fact of the discovery, or even its real importance, but the denial goes no farther than to contradict the reported extent of the discovery.'

I have called your attention to the various statements (which I had never seen till you furnished me with Mr Barker's work), because I think they are entitled to some weight, and strongly corroborate the supposition of Lord Temple's authorship. After making all necessary deductions for inaccuracies, we must infer from this evidence, that some papers have been discovered, at Stowe, the former residence of Lord Temple, and that they relate to Junius. But what is most important in the statement is this, that the present Lord Grenville, and the Duke of Buckingham, have made a declaration 'to the effect of knowing who Junius was,' and that his name was not among those who had ever been suspected. Now, when we call to mind, that Lord Temple has not been considered as the author of Junius by any of those writers, who have expressly examined the question; and when we compare the circumstances stated respecting the Stowe Papers with the mass of proofs, which I have exhibited in these letters, can we doubt that the discovery at Stowe will result in the most conclusive evidence of Lord Temple's authorship? For my own part, I was entirely convinced many years ago, as I remarked at the commencement of my letters;

long before the Stowe Papers, or any other evidence of that description, were supposed to be in existence.

But it is time for me to close this investigation; in the course of which it has been difficult to seize upon those points only which will throw the most light upon the subject. Instead of exhibiting here and there a single ray, the perspective presents a boundless horizon reflecting light from every point. If I had at first contemplated going so fully into this question, I should, perhaps, have made a different arrangement of some parts of these letters; but the evidence continued to grow upon my hands as I proceeded. I have at the same time, and I believe with perfect impartiality, taken no small pains to search for proofs *against* my theory, that I might either yield to their force, or try to meet them; but whatever others may be able to do, I can find none. On the contrary, Lord Temple, in eloquence, in profound knowledge, in skill, in warmth of temper, in independent decision of mind, exactly fits the case; while in his connexions, his enmities, his antipathies, particularly against the Scotch, his warmth for his friends, and devotion to his country, I might almost say, that he more than fits the case; if others doubt, let the grounds of their doubts be pointed out.

It has always appeared to me, that the British public, from the mystery with which the author of these Letters has been so long enveloped, had been brought to look upon them in some sense as oracular; and there seems to have been an apprehension, that whenever the veil should be rent, and the mystery laid open to public view, we should meet with no small disappointment, from finding only some vulgar name. But they need

not anticipate such a disappointment. For, as the curtain is drawn up, the author is set forth,

'In all the due proportions of a man;'

and those, to whom these Letters were directed, with pride may unite with their author in the belief, that—'When kings and ministers are forgotten, when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles worthy to be transmitted to posterity.'

I cannot close these letters, Sir, without making my most sincere acknowledgments to you personally, for the obliging attention you have given me. It is wholly due to your opinion and excellent spirit, that I have brought forward the subject at this time. I had before frequently mentioned it to others; but it was to those who had either no confidence in my conclusions, and the evidence on which they rested, or else were possessed of less inquiring minds themselves; and if it had not been for the interest you have taken in the subject, I should probably have suffered my investigation, like the original secret itself, to 'perish' with its author.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

ISAAC NEWHALL.

To the Hon. JOHN PICKERING, Boston.

LETTER XXXII.

Salem, April 1, 1831.

SIR,

WHEN I concluded my last letter to you, I did not expect to have added anything further upon the subject of Junius. But having had the pleasure of looking into Dr 'Waterhouse's Junius,' which is just published, I am induced to trouble you with a few additional remarks.

I had only the opportunity of two or three hours this forenoon to turn over the leaves; but I at once perceived, that it contained nothing that would interfere with, or invalidate, or disprove, anything which I have urged in support of the claims of Lord Temple. On the contrary, I found some things, if any more were wanted, to strengthen my previous opinions.

In page 170, Dr Waterhouse says — 'Behold then JUNIUS BRUTUS brooding over the disgraces of his country and his own personal wrongs,' &c. This is the awful period, 1769, when Dr W. thinks Lord Chatham was gathering up his strength for the great day of battle; but when we have found him, as he had been for nearly two years, laid up with the gout.*

From 1766 to 1769, Dr W., I think, has wandered from the true path; see his Chapter V, pp. 150 to 165, &c. Here was the place for the application of the dis-

* I notice a trifling oversight in Dr W's date of the first letter of Junius; he states it, January 29, but the true date is Jan. 21, 1769.

secting knife; here he would have detected the future Junius, or the incipient formations which composed the embryo. How will it be possible for him, ingenious as he is, or for any other man, upon the hypothesis of Lord *Chatham's* authorship, to explain the two Letters of *Poplicola* and the one signed *Anti-Sejanus, Jun.*, as well as several that follow, in the year 1767; all of which are filled with invectives against Lord Chatham? Dr W. has here left a great space unexplained; and it is unexplainable upon his hypothesis. But the supposition of Lord Temple's authorship solves every difficulty, as I flatter myself has been fully shown in the preceding Letters. This part of Junius's history and writings must be taken with the rest; it cannot be separated; and, in that case, Dr W. cannot say, as he has at page 189—'I contend, that the hypothesis suits that nobleman (Lord Chatham), and fits no other personage whatever.' Here I must beg leave respectfully to differ from him, as well as in what he says at page 107—'The Earl of Temple was replete with Whig principles, had full enough ardor, independence, and resentful feelings, but *he wanted the talents* for such a display of them as Junius has made.' Want of talents! I have no doubt that Dr W's candor will induce him, upon further examination of the history of Lord Temple, to acknowledge, that he has not done him justice in this particular.

Page 75, Dr W. remarks—'In less than a year after Lord Chatham withdrew from office, *Junius burst forth*, the champion of the rights of Englishmen, &c.,' in 1769. But I may be allowed to ask, where was he for two years previous, that is, during the publication of the *Miscella-*

neous Letters of Junius, *attacking* Lord Chatham, in 1767–8? Has Dr W. examined these Letters with as much particularity as their importance demanded?

Page 302. 'Chatham has gallantly thrown away the scabbard, and never flinched; from that moment *I began to like him.*' Note by Dr W. — 'The female partridge could not have practised a better lure' [!]

The above is so purely imaginary, that I beg leave to refer you to what Junius *says of Chatham*, so strikingly in contrast with the Doctor's supposition. See above.

Page 332. 'He (Grafton) then accepted the Treasury on terms which Lord Temple had disdained.' Well, what were the terms Lord Temple disdained? submission to the *dictatorial* conduct of Lord Chatham, in naming the whole of the Cabinet to be then formed. For a specimen of this dictatorial conduct in Lord Chatham, look at Dr W's book, page 131, where he proves him as arbitrary as Lord Temple would wish to make him.

Page 97. 'Junius, but one great mind, but assisted by others.' See also 101. I think he was not assisted.

I find Dr W. has quoted in the following pages the same matter which I have already communicated to you, viz —

Page 101. 'I cannot consult the learned,' &c.— this shows he was alone.

115. Earl Temple not named.

115. Burke, quoted, on Junius.

143.. Catalogue of British Conquests during the Pitt administration.

149. Almon and Lord Temple noticed — '*Note.*'

160. Chesterfield's remark of Pitt's falling up stairs.

191. Chatham's reply to Grenville — 'Gentle shepherd tell me where?'

208. Grenville and Blackstone's altercation.

310. Lord Eldon declared in the House of Lords, that Junius, if not a lawyer, must, &c.'

310. Dr W. also states, that 'It is believed in the higher circles that Lord Camden and Lord Temple knew the author of Junius; then refers by note to the quotation from Barker.

From page 150 to 170, Dr. W., I think, loses sight of his object, Lord Chatham, and strays from the path that should conduct him to it.

On the whole, I think Doctor Waterhouse's book, as far as I am able to judge by a perusal of two or three hours only, the best I have yet seen on the authorship of Junius. It appears to contain a great deal of interesting matter, which I expect to read with as much pleasure as instruction. My little volume, I am sensible, will make a diminutive figure compared with his and others, in everything except the plain matters of fact — the *proofs of the authorship*. These I have endeavored to communicate in a plain and simple manner; and I feel confident, that the evidence will produce the same conviction in other minds which it did in my own.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
ISAAC NEWHALL.

To the Hon. JOHN PICKERING, Boston.

Note — As every little incident, in any way connected with the name of Chatham, possesses some interest, I intended before to have sent you the following anecdote, though you may tell me, that it has not much to do with the subject of these letters.

'Among the Anecdotes of Thomas Pitt, Esq., governor of Fort St George, ancestor to Lord Chatham, is an account of the celebrated Pitt diamond; which he, in the time of Queen Anne's reign, brought from the East Indies, weighing 136 carats, and for which he paid £20,400 sterling; it was purchased by the Regent of France for £135,000 sterling, or five hundred thousand dollars. It was placed in the crown of France. In the account of the diamonds of Louis the Sixteenth, published by order of the National Assembly of France, in 1792, this celebrated diamond is called the Regent, and is there stated to be of the weight of 146 carats, and estimated to be of the value of twelve millions of livres, which is equal to two millions and a quarter of dollars.' J. N.

APPENDIX.

AN ENQVIRY INTO THE CONDVCT OF A LATE RIGHT HONOVRABLE COMMONER.

"*Plain Truth, Dear Pynsent, needs no Flow'rs*
"*of Speech.*"

POPE.

THE THIRD IMPRESSION, CORRECTED.

LONDON: Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House, in Piccadilly.

CIↃIↃCCLXVI.

AN ENQVIRY INTO THE CONDVCT OF A LATE RIGHT HONOVRABLE COMMONER.

In the tide of almost every great man's life, there is commonly one period, which is not only more remarkable than the rest, but conveys with it strong characteristic marks of the complexion of him to whom it belongs. Thus the great Bacon, when he saw the only road to preferment was through Buckingham, attached himself to that Favorite, and undertook to second the views of the crown. We read of his excessive pliancy in transactions wholly below his rank and character; particularly several attempts to corrupt and bias the judges, in causes which the king or his minister had much at heart. 'Avarice,' says Mr Justice Foster, (who, in his discourse on high treason, has recorded these instances of his baseness), 'I think was not his ruling passion. But whenever a false ambition, ever restless and craving, over-heated in the pursuit of the honors which the crown alone can confer, happeneth to stimulate an heart otherwise formed for great and noble pursuits, it hath frequently betrayed it into measures full as mean as avarice itself could have suggested to the wretched animals, who live and die under her dominion. For these passions, however they may seem to be at variance, have ordinarily produced the same effects. Both degrade the man; both contract his views into the little point of self-interest, and

equally steel the heart against the rebukes of conscience, or the sense of true honor.' Whoever is at the pains of reading Bacon's life, will find, that from the moment of his attaching himself to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, his character takes a new turn. We see no more of the firm friend, nor honest man; both are sunk in the scandalous Instrument of a Favorite, without honor, and a court, without veracity: and Villiers, and he, were afterwards impeached by the Commons. The King, indeed, endeavored to save Villiers; but Bacon was sacrificed. It is true, he had been made a lord, but he was sequestered from Parliament; and the pangs of his conscience were evidenced by every passage of his future life.

Within our own times, who had a more exalted character, or whose popularity was higher, than Mr William Pulteney's? He was the *Great Commoner* of his time; the terror of corruption, the support of virtue, the firm, disinterested patriot. But when he, treacherously, deserted his friends, meanly capitulated with the court, bargained still more abjectly to screen the Favorite, and accepted of a peerage, his popularity forsook him in an instant: the united public looked upon him as a traitor, and were unanimous in condemning, detesting, and execrating him. His quondam friends abhorred him, and his enemies despised him. That one transaction hath branded his name with eternal infamy.

Other instances of the like nature are not wanting; but these are enough to establish this great truth, that men who are innately bad, notwithstanding the force of a long habit of hypocrisy, will, one time or other, wear their natural complexion.

This has been remarkably verified in the conduct of a late Right Honorable Commoner, just called to another house. He has long dwelt as high in the public esteem as Mr Pulteney once did, has been considered to have talents

superior to Bacon, and supposed to have more integrity than either. The people have adored him to a greater degree, than perhaps any other man ever experienced; and upon repeated and positive assurances of his disinterestedness, they have been led to repose in him the most unlimited confidence. However, there have not been wanting many who have suspected the veracity of those assurances; and, whose penetration being guided by a true knowledge of some parts of his conduct, have frequently asserted, he would one day or other prove *an Impostor.*

A sketch of some parts of his former conduct will not be amiss in this place, as it will remind the public, what hair-breadth escapes he has had of losing his popularity, and will in some measure be found to lead to the causes of his last great manœuvre; the grand criterion by which the public opinion of his boasted fidelity and patriotism, will be for ever fixed upon the solid foundation of indisputable *Truth.*

None was more forward or more violent, in declaiming with virulence against Sir Robert Walpole. By this he first became popular; and the Dutchess of Marlborough left him ten thousand pounds, with the intention of preserving him *unplaced* and *unpensioned.* Next he condemned the Pelhams, and their administration, to the shades of Erebus, as the most pernicious men, and most destructive measures ever known and adopted. They knew his price, and he entered into a compromise with the Duke of Newcastle, who made him a Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, with the late Lord Cholmondeley. He then poured the most lavish encomiums upon them, and deified Sir Robert Walpole. For the truth of these facts, I appeal to the great number of persons now alive who are well acquainted with them; and to some, who have copies of a few of the most remarkable passages in his strange, inconsistent, and contradictory speeches. By this conduct his popularity was well nigh being ruined, but his friends and relations were indefatiga-

ble in supporting his character; and he himself neglected neither pains nor opportunity of acquiring an interest at St James's, by paying court to a female Favorite, who at that time held the keys of promotion. And by an interest as scandalous, as his conduct was obsequious, he obtained the post of Paymaster. For a little time he was quiet, but his ever restless ambition soon broke out, and he aimed at the sole guidance of the State, which he seemed resolved to take by storm. He thundered against Hanover, the very name of which he was for expunging out of the dictionary; it was called a mill-stone hung about the neck of Great-Britain, and styled the bane of this country, from the expense which it cost us; and the most solemn declarations were made, that not a shilling nor a man should go to Germany. The popular gale wafts him into power: and though not to that degree of eminence in station, which constitutionally gives the lead in public business, yet he usurped an absolute dominion over the whole court. It is his nature to bear no control, therefore the King was taken captive in his closet, and made prisoner upon his throne.

But as it were to atone for his conduct, and to give the public another proof, that not theirs, but his own interest, was the object he had in view; though absolute minister, and of course at full liberty to carry on the war upon whatever system he pleased, and a neutrality secured for Hanover; yet he entered into all the predilections of his sovereign, broke the neutrality in Germany, and notwithstanding his many furious and energetic declarations against the continent, the very sounds of which were tingling in our ears, he plunged us deeper into the German war than any of his predecessors; sent over more men and more money than any other minister ever dared; and, at an expense of above eighty millions, *conquered America in Germany.* *

* It is only curious, from observation of his natural inconsistency, to mention, that when the late Lord Anson was attacked

And to support this enormous load of expense, it was at his express injunction, that the last heavy additional duty was laid upon beer, even in opposition to the Duke of Newcastle and the late Mr Legge, who would otherwise have laid a tax upon the luxuries of life, in order to spare the industrious, and put the burden upon the rich and idle. As it falls almost exclusively upon the most useful and laborious part of the nation, it may with strict justice be styled a grievous and an oppressive tax, by which the price of one article of consumption was advanced a *seventh* — a tax cruelly wrung from the briny sweat of industry, and which seems to have been founded on no other principle, than that in order to render the people dependent, we should begin by making them poor.

Ever wishing to obtain and preserve power by any sacrifice or any means, and finding soon after the accession of his present majesty, that the Earl of Bute was in possession of the r—— ear, he was the first and principal instrument of that noble Lord's introduction to power; particularly to the post of secretary of state and coadjutor to himself; which shows, as clearly as anything can, his early and close connexion with the Favourite. And upon what principle could this be done, but the hope of thereby laying the foundation of security to himself?

When the Favourite had gained the ascendancy, and had formed designs incompatible with the honor of the crown and the interest of the kingdom; when he had drawn the

in the House of Commons upon the loss of Minorca, the late Commoner (knowing that the late Lord Hardwicke was then the Court Favorite), stood up to vindicate his Lordship, and said, 'that he was convinced his Lordship had erred through want of intellect, and not through design.' After this extraordinary declaration, he restored his Lordship to that very post, for which he had pronounced him unqualified through deficiency of understanding.

substance and the shadow likewise of strength from the Great Commoner, and defeated him also in his mighty design upon Spain; then, even then, notwithstanding this insult, and many others, such was either his lust for office, or his friendship for the Favorite, that he would have sacrificed his haughty overbearing spirit to a sufferance of remaining in office, and submitted to a control not only contradictory of all his former principles, but infamous in the eyes of the public, had it not been for the spirited and truly patriotic resentment of his most noble friend and relation, Earl Temple; who with a magnanimity, almost peculiar to himself, disdained to wear the chains, or put on the livery of such an incompetent statesman, such a contemptible being; and first strongly urged, and at length FORCED the COMMONER into *resignation:* which he accompanied with his own, in order to give an example of spirit and resistance to an *usurpation*, so exceedingly dangerous to both court and people.

Notwithstanding the most virulent and unjustifiable proscription carried on against the late Commoner, and his friends, by the influence of the Favorite; notwithstanding the introduction of men by the same power who had long been hateful to him; notwithstanding a total alteration of measures; and notwithstanding the most iniquitous sacrifices made of the Honor and Faith of the Crown, and of the Glory and Interest of the People; yet did he on that day, that important day, when the permanency of England was under consideration, shrink back, and cover his boasted patriotism in a three hours' speech *upon equilibrium.* He was for and against the preliminaries of peace; he liked and he disliked them; and in a word, he was full of nothing but doubts and hopes and fears. If he really did not approve of them, and in his own heart he could not do otherwise, why did he not declare his sentiments boldly like a true patriot? The reason is, he knew the peace to be the

favorite measure of the Minion, and he was afraid of doing him too much mischief on that occasion; apprehending that a spirited and nervous opposition on that question, might lay the foundation of an irreparable breach; might destroy forever his purpose, which was already formed, of obtaining a reconciliation with the Earl of Bute.*

And so firmly persuaded was the Favorite of the Great Commoner's wishes to accomplish such an union, that he soon afterwards employed Sir Harry Erskine to open a negotiation for that purpose. There are not wanting those who know of Sir Harry's going from place to place, and from man to man, in search of a channel to convey the Favorite's designs, in a *proper manner* (as it was phrased) to Mr Beckford, who was Mr Pitt's great and confidential friend. As soon as the plan was known, it was accepted; and Lord Bute went in disguise in the middle of the night, in August 1763, to Mr Pitt's own house in Jermyn-street. And it is as certain, that the Great Commoner, in his subsequent conferences with a Greater Personage, to whom the door was opened for him by the Minion, *would have accepted, and united with the Favorite*, had he not been prevented by the strong efforts of his friends.

* 'It is more than probable, he knew his channel of conveyance to Mr Pitt; and that a communication had, for some time, been opened between them, else what reason can be given for Mr Beckford's conduct, who was Lord Mayor of London at the time of making the peace, in not calling a Court of Common Council, to prepare and present petitions to Parliament against the Preliminary Articles? This behavior would have been spirited, and worthy the metropolis of England, which so zealously condemned those articles, and the treaty itself. If that step had been taken, it is not very probable the vote of approbation would have been so much to the Favorite's Honor.'—*History of Minority*, p. 215.

As a proof how much the miscarriage of this negotiation, and of course this intended connexion with the Favorite, was against the Commoner's wishes, let us only recollect the extraordinary language of his friends upon that occasion; I mean of those few who were exclusively attached to him. 'It were foolish, said one of them, if a womanish *idea of consistency*, that is, of acting always with the *same* man, should influence Mr Pitt to go wrong. The great and noble consistency of a patriot is *steadily* [fine bombast!] to pursue his country's good, and whether in the changes of time a Newcastle, a German Whore, or a Lord Bute, may be the instrument, it matters little to his country.' Here is a clear avowal of the wish to come into office with such a connexion. And I appeal to the members of the lower house, for what he himself has said there upon the subject of a connexion with the Favorite. Did he ever say that he had any objections to it? On the contrary, has he not repeatedly declared, that he had none? and that the Favorite might, if he pleased, lead him into the closet? This is speaking pretty plainly, so plain that it needs no comment. There is one circumstance more; a particular friend of his at that time, said, 'That an *union* between Mr Pitt and Lord Bute was the *only* thing that could give us our just weight and importance abroad, and restore peace and harmony at home.' And this friend was known to be a retailer of the Late Commoner's sentiments. From these particulars, and the manner in which the negotiation was set on foot, it appears, beyond a doubt, that the Great Commoner wished for such a junction; and that he was as ready to pay court to the reigning Favorite, as ever he had been to the Countess of Yarmouth, but was obstructed by the means of his friends.

How did the Great Commoner behave after this? Did he not join the Favorite's party in the pursuit of an unfortunate exile? Did he not previously declare in the lobby to one of the Surry members, that that unfortunate person

must be supported? But a few hours afterwards, was he not the first who rose up violently against him (with his usual dissimulation and affected piety), at the mention of a poem, which he had seen and read before? Did he not with a bitterness of expression that could be dictated by nothing but his zeal of soliciting the Favorite's esteem, condemn and traduce that unhappy man? Did he not emphatically call him, 'The blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King?' and this before any judgment could be had, although the necessary process was going forward, in the courts below? It was a censure and condemnation which the Favorite had much at heart, and the assistance of the Great Commoner was doubtless very acceptable; and very probably, as it was intended, it was favorably reported elsewhere.

In the course of the same season, we saw him first espouse, and then fly from the great cause of Public Liberty, which his Honorable Relation had been indefatigable in his attempts, and had expended immense sums, to bring to a determination. It is true, he assisted in the first debate upon general warrants; but finding that some of the party were in earnest in their designs of going further, and had prepared a motion against the seizure of papers, which was in fact the great grievance;* and also finding, that the Favorite

* They were afraid of attempting anything further, lest they should thereby ruin the probability of their supposed success: which was the reason of their not making a second effort, upon a motion they had formed against the seizure of papers, which was generally expected. That was a point of real importance to the Liberty of the subject; and a condemnation of a practice so horrid and illegal as the seizure of papers undoubtedly was, would have given the most sensible pleasure to every Englishman. But the real truth is, these patriots by halves only, when they were in office, were as strong prerogative men as those whom they now opposed; and hoping shortly to be in office again, they

dreaded the Minority gaining a victory, lest the party should be afterwards turned against him; and that the Favorite had therefore supported the administration with all his might upon this occasion; the Great Patriot scandalously *withdrew from the cause and the Party;* thereby *preventing* any

did not choose to condemn a practice, which many of them held to be both justifiable and necessary. So that this minority were not such warm and sincere friends to Liberty as they pretended: though they were at infinite pains, and some expense, to make the public believe their professions, from their attempt to condemn General Warrants. But not a step would they take towards either remedying or condemning the greater grievance, relative to papers; not an inch further would they go although they were sure of carrying the question. If it be legal to seize papers (and such silence almost implies it), it is a matter of indifference to the unfortunate person whose house is plundered for them, whether the search and seizure are made under the authority of a general or a particular warrant; if a general warrant will not do, a particular one may soon be had; a Secretary of State can never be many minutes in finding a Justice of Peace to issue a warrant for him. The question is, Is such a practice legal? The Minority would not say, *No.* Many of them are supposed to approve of it, in certain cases; as in high treason, &c., but they would neither tell the public what these cases were, nor under what restrictions the practice ought to be put. They hung out a specious, but deceitful, appearance of Liberty, a kind of *a will with a whisp*, and intreated the public to follow it—The evasion of the Habeas Corpus, and the close imprisonment, were wholly indefensible, and would have afforded them most excellent questions. Those transactions were clearly against law, and therefore ought to have been censured. Perhaps with respect to the warrant, the right and best way of proceeding would have been to have moved a complaint against the Secretary himself, at least it would have been the most constitutional, and most becoming the dignity of Parliament. But the Minority did not aim at doing justice to the laws of their country. The bent of their desires was to get into office. *Minority*, p. 283.

point being then gained towards that security of Public Liberty, which the whole kingdom so ardently wished for, and expected.

A short time afterwards, when an impeachment of the Favorite was privately rumored among a few only; and it was said, that there was strong evidence ready to be given, particularly with regard to the peace; when a certain baronet, and others, who took some pains in order to come at this evidence, and the conditions upon which it might have been obtained were trifling (not pecuniary), and who thought it necessary, that the Great Commoner should be consulted upon a subject of such importance, especially too as he was looked upon to be the fittest person to lead, or principally support such a proceedure; and when, in consequence of that idea, he was applied to by one of his own friends, and in some measure a distant relation, he checked the whole in the bud, by declaring vehemently against it.

In the succeeding year (1765) the Favorite and the administration being at variance, the Great Commoner kept aloof. He wished to see them destroyed, from his personal animosity to some of them; and he did not therefore interrupt the Minion in any of his favorite measures, neither on the question of the Regency, nor any other; but waited for the opportunity, or rather the necessity, which he thought the distress of the Public service, and the impossibility of carrying on the Public business, in such a scene of continual warfare between the court and the ministry, would indispensably produce, of calling him to the state; not merely as one *less hostile* against the Favorite than any other person, but because there then was, and had been for some time, a good understanding between them. A negotiation was accordingly opened; and it was apparently with a design, and expectation, of getting certain great and favorite conditions complied with, that such pains were taken to prevail upon a Royal Personage (now no more) to become

the negotiator. But unfortunately for this scheme, they began with the wrong man. His Royal Highness first sent for Lord Temple. That noble Lord refused the conditions with a firmness that does honor to his integrity. He then knew nothing of what Mr Pitt would do. His Royal Highness went to Mr Pitt; and offered him the same conditions which had been refused by the noble Lord. And why the Great Commoner did not choose to accept of them, cannot be accounted for, unless it was because he thought them too hard, and apparently favoring so much of the *Butean* system, that he was afraid to desert his noble relation, who obviously stood upon such a public ground; and besides, having no subterfuge to cover the deceit and treachery of so scandalous a connexion, as that with the Favorite, must, and would have been considered.

In the succeeding negotiation (which was but a few weeks after), he was again saved by his noble relation, who a second time declared his refusal to enlist under the banner of the Favorite. Again was the Great Commoner foiled; and he was still afraid to break with his noble friend upon such a declaration; but it is impossible to express the chagrin he felt in not being able to accomplish his project, which was nothing more than the very title and place he now enjoys; the one to be obtained by the favor, and the other to be held under the tenure of the Earl of Bute. From both of which he was prevented, and his character preserved another year, by the superior virtue, firmness, and true patriotism of Earl Temple, who repeatedly declared, with an emphasis of zeal that shews him to be the real friend of his country, and acting wholly upon public-spirited principles, that he would never submit to a *Butal* and *Ducal* administration. And in return for his sincere friendship, and most essential service, the Commoner most vehemently enveighed against the noble Lord for his *obstinacy*, as he phrased it. And he repeatedly said to every gentleman, who visited

him in the West last year, that he knew of no reasons which could or ought to have prevented Lord Temple's acceptance. A plain and convincing proof this, that he himself had no objections to leagueing with the Favorite upon any terms, even though they were, that Lord Northumberland should be Lord Chamberlain, Mr Stuart Mackenzie (Lord Bute's brother), Privy Seal for Scotland; and that all the Favorite's friends should remain; nor to seeing the whole ministerial system thus contaminated with the power, interest, and influence of the Favorite. And, let his own family (who best know) declare the rage he was in, and the intolerable uneasiness of mind which were visible in his speech and conduct for a considerable time afterwards, occasioned by his disappointment of not going into office, with the intention, and settled condition, of accepting in a few weeks after the first arrangements had taken place, the very Peerage and the office of Privy Seal he hath now taken. And nothing could equal the vexation he suffered by his own timidity, in not deserting his noble friend and relation at that time, and for the very purpose abovementioned. But to open a door for his future advancement, he took the advantage of the weakness of the administration at the beginning of last winter, when there was a diversity of opinions amongst them concerning the American Stamp Act, to offer them his assistance; taking for granted, I should imagine, that they in return would gratify him with whatever place and title he desired, and would be glad of obtaining, *upon any terms*, such an accession to their party; and when the most difficult business had been got over, he wanted to change that administration, part of whom it is known he advised to accept. Finding, however, that he could not accomplish his views that way, owing to the firmness which the cabinet of that administration made to a principle so abominable and selfish, he turned against them before the end of the session.

We come now to this last *Negotiation;* the grand criterion by which the disinterested, honest public will judge of the Great Commoner's character, assisted in some measure, as they doubtless will be, by the several irrefutable facts already related; many of which naturally lead, and tend to an explanation of the causes of this Great, and to the world, unexpected event; a *Negotiation* instituted by the Favorite, and carried on by the noble Lawyer lately removed from his own department to another high office in the state, and hastened, too, by embracing the first opportunity to scatter the seeds of discord in the cabinet, and from thence to pronounce the incapacity and weakness of the supposed Ministers. The error last year had been in consulting Lord Temple *first.* This year another method was taken, Mr Pitt was *first* applied to; and after that gentleman had had a conference first with the late Lord Chancellor, and then with his M., Lord Temple was sent for, who directly after his coming to town, waited on his M. at Richmond. Next day (July 16, 1766) his Lordship received a very affectionate letter from Mr Pitt, then at North-End, Hampstead, desiring to see his Lordship there, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His Lordship went, and Mr Pitt acquainted him, that His M. had been graciously pleased to send for him to form an administration; and as he thought his Lordship '*indispensable,*' he desired his M. to send for him, and to put him at the head of the Treasury; and that he himself would take the post of Privy Seal. The Commoner then produced a list of several persons, which he said *he* had fixed upon to go in with his Lordship; and which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord Temple said, that he had had the honor of a conference with his M. at Richmond the evening before, and that he did not understand from what passed between them, that Mr Pitt was to be *absolute Master,* and to form *every part* of the administration; if he had, he would not have given himself the

trouble of coming to Mr Pitt upon that subject, being determined to come in upon an *equality* with Mr Pitt, in case he was to occupy the most responsible place under the government. And as Mr Pitt had chosen only a *Side-place*, without any responsibility annexed to it, he should insist upon some of his friends being in the Cabinet offices with him, and in whom he could confide; which he thought Mr Pitt could have no objection to, as he must be sensible he could not come in with honor, unless he had such nomination; nor did he desire, but that Mr Pitt should have his share of the nomination of *his* friends. And his Lordship added, that he made a *sacrifice* of his brother, Mr George Grenville, who notwithstanding his being entirely out of place, and excluded from all connexion with the intended system, would nevertheless, support the measures of their administration; that it was his idea to conciliate all parties, which was the ground that had made Mr Pitt's former administration so respectable and glorious, and to form upon the solid basis of *Union*, an able and responsible administration; to brace the relaxed sinews of government, retrieve the honor of the crown, and pursue the permanent interest of the public; but that if Mr Pitt insisted upon a superior dictation, and did not choose to join in a plan designed for the restoration of that *Union*, which at no time was ever so necessary, he desired the conference might be broke off, and that Mr Pitt would give himself no further trouble about him, for that he would not submit to the proposed conditions.

Mr Pitt, however, insisted upon continuing the conference; and asked, who those persons were whom his Lordship intended for some of the cabinet employments? His Lordship answered, that one in particular, was a noble Lord of approved character, and known abilities, who had last year refused the very office now offered to him (Lord Temple) though pressed to it in the strongest manner, by the

Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Newcastle; and who being their common friend, he did not doubt Mr Pitt himself had in contemplation. This worthy and respectable person was Lord Lyttelton. At the conclusion of this sentence, Mr Pitt said, Good God, how can you compare him to the Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, and Mr Conway? Besides, said he, I have taken the privy seal, and he cannot have that. Lord Temple then mentioned the post of Lord President; upon which Mr Pitt said, that could not be, for he had engaged the Presidency; but, says he, Lord Lyttelton *may have a pension.* To which Lord Temple immediately answered, that would never do; nor would he stain the bud of his administration with an accumulation of pensions. It is true, Mr Pitt vouchsafed to permit the noble Lord to nominate his own board; but at the same time insisted, that if two persons of that board (Thomas Townshend, and George Onslow, Esq'rs), were turned out, they should have a compensation, i. e. *Pensions.*

Mr Pitt next asked, what person his Lordship had in his thoughts for Secretary of State? His Lordship answered, Lord Gower, a man of great abilities, and whom he knew to be equal to any Mr Pitt had named, and of much greater alliance; and in whom he meant and hoped to unite and conciliate a great and powerful party, in order to widen and strengthen the bottom of his administration, and to vacate even the idea of opposition; thereby to restore unanimity in parliament, and confine every good man's attention to the real objects of his country's welfare. And his Lordship added, that he had never imparted his design to Lord Gower, nor did he know whether that noble Lord would accept of it,* but mentioned it now, only as a comprehensive measure, to attain the great end he wished, of restoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties, that the business

* Lord Temple afterwards wrote to Lord Gower, to excuse the mention he had made of his name.

of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only business of parliament. But Mr Pitt rejected this proposal, evidently *healing* as it appeared, by saying, that he had determined Mr Conway should stay in his present office, and that he had Lord Shelburne to propose for the office, then held by the Duke of Richmond; so that there remained no room for Lord Gower. This, Lord Temple said, was coming to his first proposition of being sole and absolute dictator, to which no consideration should ever induce him to submit. And therefore he insisted upon ending the conference; which he did with saying, That if he had been first called upon by the K. he should have consulted Mr Pitt's honor, with regard to the arrangements of ministers, and have given him an equal share in the nomination; and that he thought himself ill-treated by Mr Pitt, in his not observing the like conduct.

Had Mr Pitt not chosen to refuse a plan of government, so obviously calculated and designed for the good of the country, and for putting an end to those unhappy divisions which have long obstructed the Public business, we should have seen an administration formed of the most able and upright men in the kingdom; acting upon principles agreeable to the Public wishes; and whose natural strength and alliances would have given such a stability to their power, as would have afforded the most sincere satisfaction to the Public; who are concerned and grieved at these repeated *changes*, made apparently without any design of restoring peace to the kingdom, or any desire of putting the direction of affairs into capable hands: *Changes* obviously patched up, and consisting of nothing but a temporary succession of men, whose names were almost unknown till they appeared in the Gazette: *Changes* made by the Favorite, and designed to render all sets of men contemptible, that he may at length, like Cardinal Mazarine, publicly resume his power, and tell the people he is the only capable man in the kingdom.

A French Historian * has given us the character of that Favorite French minister in these words;

'His person was handsome, his manners polite, and his discourse insinuating. The Queen-mother was extremely charmed with him, and he became the soul of all her councils. He was almost impenetrable in his designs, disguised in his proceedings, artful in his intrigues, and often attained his ends by such ways as would seem to carry him wide of his mark.' And Voltaire says, (in his Siecle De Louis XIV. for it was during the minority of that Prince, that this man flourished) 'That the Queen-mother made him master of France, and herself. He obtained that power over her, which an artful man will acquire over a woman born without strength sufficient to govern, yet with constancy enough to persist in her choice.' All the French Historians (vide Mezeray, Henault, &c.) agree in saying, Mazarine's government in a little time became so intolerable, that he was detested by the whole people, who became actuated with a factious spirit of licentiousness; the nobles too were disgusted, and putting themselves at the head of different parties, laid the foundation of that violent and dangerous civil war which broke out soon afterwards. During this conflict Mazarine was obliged to fly. The parliament impeached him, and set a price upon his head. But during his exile, he continued to govern by other hands, and the influence which he retained with the Queen-mother; who so possessed the young King in his favor, that his Majesty looked upon him as a father. Though the tranquillity of the kingdom was restored by the banishment of the Cardinal, yet the court so managed affairs, that the opposition to him became so enervated, partly by its own blunders, but chiefly by the leaders listening to the overtures of the Court, which the Cardinal *secretly* contrived to get made to them, that the Queen-mother soon found she might safely order the King

* Mem. de Turenne.

to recall him. His Majesty embraced him with the most tender affection; and *he publicly resumed his power.* Even Orleans, who had affected to hate him most, and who thereby had gained the esteem of the people, was base enough to become reconciled to him. The nobility servilely welcomed him into the city, and the parliament, to its eternal dishonor, abjectly solicited his protection. In the midst of this more than scandalous and infamous degeneracy, there was *one* man who remained firm against him. This was the *Coadjutor* of Orleans, the great Conde, as Voltaire calls him; who had penetration enough to discover many of his secret stratagems and treacheries, and honesty enough to resist him. But what could *one* man do? He was deserted by the party, who were so infamous and venal as to put on the livery of the Court. And even the Parliament became so obsequious and devoted to Mazarine, that they condemned Conde, because he was Mazarine's enemy. 'Thus France, bubbled and laughed at, bent her neck to the despotism under which she languishes to this day; adding, one more proof, that the public hatred may not be the less followed by public enslavement to the person hated. *Tous les tems se resemblent.* All times are similar.' And the present King of Prussia in his examination of *Machiavel's Prince*, says, 'that Mazarine having surmounted all difficulties, deprived the Parliament of its privileges in such a manner, that to this day it is but a mere phantom; which yet sometimes pretends to be a real body, but is soon made sensible of its error.'

These reflections, and this part of the French history, naturally occur to the mind of any thinking man, who is at all acquainted with the transactions of these times. If we compare similar causes with similar effects, what has not this country to fear? Will not every man say, it was an inexcusable thing to reject that plan of administration, which carried with it the obvious and convincing means of bringing *Union* and *Strength* to Government, and of render-

ing it formidable enough to combat, and destroy whatever schemes might in a few months, or perhaps weeks, be formed against it, by the inconstancy of the man who is ever projecting some internal mischief?

This is the *second* opportunity that has been *weakly* or *treacherously* lost, of gaining that ascendancy over the fickleness of the Favorite, which is become absolutely necessary to establish a permanent administration. What passed in July, last year, is well known; and many who were not then, are, I believe, now pretty fully convinced of his power. He made the administration at that time, as well as turned out their predecessors. He has turned them out also, and now put in another set. Where are these fluctuations to end? or what can they mean?

The nation hath long been wishing and calling for Mr. Pitt. Mr Pitt is now come, and what hath he done? I blush for my country, which weeps over his hypocrisy. He has effected his long meditated junction with the Favorite; has deserted the only place in which he could serve his country; and, like Enoch, he is *translated* never more to be heard of.

He has sacrificed his noble friend and relation, and all the ties of affection, gratitude, honor, faith, and (if he is still susceptible of feeling) his domestic peace, to his present views. How different, let him recollect, has been the conduct of that noble Lord, who, with a firmness rarely to be met with, and with an integrity that spoke the zeal of his heart, supported *him* upon many points of importance and difficulty, contrary to the opinions of many of his best friends, and in danger of losing a very considerable part of his present possessions; no consideration of which ever induced him to swerve one moment from those ties of friendship, and that great public cause in which he stood engaged! — In January last, the noble Lord could have gone into administration, if he would have taken it upon the terms that Mr Pitt, I beg pardon, now Lord Chatham, has.

There have not been wanting other opportunities, and repeated solicitations, to induce the noble Lord to accept; but he never would upon terms dishonorable to himself, and unserviceable to his country. And yet these refusals have not been dictated by either a dislike of office, or a spirit of opposition to the wishes of the people, who know his abilities, and would rejoice to see him at the head of affairs; for the business of one would be his delight, and the service of the other his pride: but by an integrity, that is now, and to latest ages will be admired, in disdaining to put on the livery of the Favorite, or that of his *Vice-Roy*, the new made Peer, which is but his at second hand.

This truth is clearly evinced, by what has been said was told to a Great Personage the same day that the noble Lord set out for the country; which has been supposed was nearly to the following effect: That the Commoner's terms were of such a nature, it was impossible the noble Lord could accept of them consistently with his honor: that his Lordship had made a sacrifice of his Brother to the Commoner's resentment, in order to accommodate with him; but that gentleman insisted upon bringing in a set of men, some of whom where personal enemies to his Lordship, and with whom he had differed upon the most essential points of Government; and would not permit him to name one friend for the Cabinet, in whom he had an entire confidence: and had assumed a power to himself, to which his Lordship never could submit; for if he did, the world would say, with great justice, that he went in like a child, to go out like a fool. That his wish was, to retrieve the honor of the nation by an administration formed upon a broad bottom, and composed of men of the best abilities, without respect to party, which his first and principal view was to extinguish and annihilate, as much as possible, in order that the whole attention of Parliament might be confined to the great objects of national concern. That he had never been a suitor to ——

either for himself or his friends, for any place of honor or emolument; he did not even seek the present offer; yet he was extremely willing to sacrifice his own peace and leisure, to the service of His M. and his country, provided he could do it with honor; but that, he added, was in his own disposal, and he would make a compliment of it to no man.

In the evening (of the same day) the noble Lord told the noble lawyer who had been appointed Negotiator, that the farce was at an end, and the masque was off. His lordship need not have sent for him from the country, for there was no real wish or intention to have him in the administration.

As no reasons were given by the Commoner for refusing the *healing* propositions of his noble Relation, the Public will very naturally, and perhaps very justly, suppose, they were inconsistent with the bargain he had made with the Favorite; might prove abortive of his new connexion; or, which is more probable, destructive of the Favorite's great plan of Government, which is nothing more, than to increase the spirit of division, and by perpetually playing one party against another (having always the ———'s power in his own hands, which is a weight sufficient to throw the balance where he pleases) he is thus able to secure himself, and continue master of all. But had this plan of *Union* taken place, the system of governing by division must have been at an end; and it would not have been prudent in the Favorite to advise the dismission of such a ministry; or to resort to his old tricks of making*

*Thus far we had copied from an original edition of the pamphlet itself, when it was discovered that our copy was imperfect, there being a deficiency from page 60 to 69. What here follows consists of different extracts from the pamphlet, as published partly in the Gentleman's Magazine, and partly in the London Magazine, for August, 1766, from which two works we have collected the passages here included in brackets. After the passages in brackets, we copy again from the concluding pages of the pamphlet itself.

[The Favorite has at the same time effected what he had long wished for, the separation of the Great Commoner from his noble relation. This separation has been the darling object of his wishes; has employed his whole thoughts; and he has contrived an hundred stratagems to accomplish this great end. Sometimes he has endeavored to tempt one, and sometimes the other, with his offers, always taking them singly; but the virtue and integrity of the noble Lord have always foiled his machinations, and, until this period, have likewise saved his relation. But a Title, and a *Side-Place* with a large salary, but no business or responsibility annexed to it, were baits which that gentleman had long been gaping after, and which at length have caught him; baits which his ambition could not make him more eager to swallow, than the *Thane* was to offer. 'Wonder not therefore that he has changed sides and opinions; that he has united with him whom he pretended to hate; since all sides, and all opinions, which promote his views, are equally eligible to him.' But it will be matter of wonder indeed, if this new friendship lasts. It is too great a victory to the Favorite, too great a triumph to the court, not to be followed with a total defeat. He will be turned out, as he has been turned in; only to add, if possible, something more to that public odium and abhorrence of his name and character, which have so unanimously followed his apostacy and promotion; his desertion of his friends and his country, and the accomplishment of his long-sought wretched alliance with the Favorite, who now laughs at his folly, despises his vanity, exults over his weakness, and rejoices in the public execration of such an Hypocrite. In a word, it is the *Perfection* of the Favorite's Scheme; which no resistance, no integrity, no virtue of the noble Lord could prevent; met, as it was, more than half way, by the lust of power, *Honors*, and employment, the ingratitude and perfidy of———

[With whom, besides, is the late Commoner in league? with those very men who he hated most and despised; with

Gen. *Conway*, who two years ago he refused to see at *Hayes*, though pressed to it in the strongest manner by Lord *Lyttelton;* with Lord *Shelburne*, upon whom he put a negative last year, when nominated to the very office he now enjoys; with Col. *Barre*, who called him an heap of contradictions, &c.

[If it is asked, why had he so great a Penchant for them now? The answer is, because the first, in a great measure, laid the foundation of the surrender of the honor and authority of Great Britain, and made a tender of both at the feet of the colonies, the second assisted him, and the third follows of course.

[This little corps, contemptible in numbers, and despicable in abilities, is to be reinforced by the subalterns of the late ministry; by those, whose excessive lust for office, whose ingratitude, meanness, and subserviency, would not suffer them to follow the *resignations* and *dismissions* of their patrons.

[The moment these heard there was another recruiting sergeant in town; they instantly deserted both the officers and colors under which they had first enlisted, and for present pay, and good quarters, repaired to the drum head of the enemy.— *Video omnes damnatos omnesque ignominia affectos, illac facere.* Cic.]

. . . . all was not well. In a few days his measures appeared: and they are; a junction with the Favorite, to which he has sacrificed his old connexions, and best friends; and the acquisition of a Title, to which, as far as he was able, he has sacrificed the Public.

I cannot conclude without the warmest thanks, I think I may say in the name of every Englishman, to the steady, discerning, and patriotic Members of the Common Council of the City of London; who when repeated attempts were made to surprise them into an address, upon an appointment of men, and an adoption of measures, equally obnoxious

and injurious to the nation, *refused*, with a firmness that does the greatest honor to their public spirit; and told the person applying, '*That the Commoner was caught in a Scotch trap, and he must get out as well as he could.*' — To frustrate the efforts of a Dingley*, may there never be wanting the good sense and spirit of a Freeman.† — They disdained to set an example of deceit to the Public, and spurned, with a laudable indignation, the scandalous attempts upon their understandings and integrity, to become the instruments of imposition upon their fellow subjects; to serve the base, self-interested purposes of a contemptible *Faction*, and cover the most abandoned and infamous apostacy.

[*The Pamphlet is signed* N. C. M. S. C.]

APPENDIX NO. II.

Lord Chesterfield's Letter, respecting Lord Temple's *Pamphlet of* 1766.

Blackheath, August 14, 1766.

My Dear Friend,

I received yesterday your letter of the 30th past; and find by it, that it crossed mine upon the road, where they had no time to take notice of one another.

The newspapers have informed you, before now, of the changes actually made; more will probably follow, but what, I am sure I cannot tell you; and I believe nobody can, not even those who are to make them: they will, I suppose, be occasional, as people behave themselves. The causes and consequences of Mr Pitt's quarrel now appear in print, in a pamphlet published by Lord T——; and in a

* Mr Charles Dingley.

† Mr Samuel Freeman.

refutation of it, not by Mr Pitt himself, I believe, but by some friend of his, and under his sanction. The former is very scurrilous and scandalous, and betrays private conversation. My Lord says, that in his last conference, he thought he had as good a right to nominate the new Ministry as Mr Pitt, and consequently named Lord G——, Lord L——, &c. for Cabinet Council employments; which Mr Pitt not consenting to, Lord T—— broke up the conference, and in his wrath went to Stowe; where I presume he may remain undisturbed a great while, since Mr Pitt will neither be willing, nor able to send for him again.—The pamphlet, on the part of Mr Pitt, gives an account of his whole political life; and, in that respect, is tedious to those who were acquainted with it before; but, at the latter end, there is an article that expresses such supreme contempt of Lord T——, and in so pretty a manner, that I suspect it to be Mr Pitt's own: you shall judge yourself, for I here transcribe the article:—'But this I will be bold to say, that had he (Lord T——) not fastened himself into Mr Pitt's train, and acquired thereby such an interest in that great man, he might have crept out of life with as little notice as he crept in; and gone off with no other degree of credit, than that of adding a single unit to the bills of mortality.' I wish I could send you all the pamphlets and half-sheets that swarm here upon this occasion; but that is impossible; for every week would make a ship's cargo. It is certain that Mr Pitt has, by his dignity of Earl, lost the greatest part of his popularity, especially in the City; and I believe the Opposition will be very strong, and perhaps prevail, next session, in the House of Commons; there being now nobody there, who can have the authority, and ascendant over them, that Pitt had.

APPENDIX NO. III.

Character of GEORGE GRENVILLE. *From the Notes of Woodfall's Junius.*

THE warm attachment of JUNIUS to every part of the conduct of this distinguished statesman, may perhaps be conceived to import something more than a mere political concurrence of sentiment, and to indicate an ardent personal friendship. The editor has found it necessary to glance at such an idea on several former occasions. Yet for the honor of JUNIUS, it ought to be observed, that there were few political characters of the day, who were more entitled to his panegyric. Upon which subject the reader will not be displeased at being presented with the following brief sketch of Mr Grenville's character from the pen of a gentleman to whom these notes have been already indebted, and who had repeated opportunities of forming a correct estimate of his worth. It is extracted from the second volume of Mr Knox's Extra Official State Papers, from which a letter written by Mr Grenville, on the subject of American politics, has been selected in note to Miscellaneous Letter, No. XXXI. *ante*, p. 87. The anecdote respecting Florida and Louisiana is infinitely creditable to his 'shrewd inflexible judgment' as a statesman, and his conduct as a minister is in many respects not unworthy the imitation of those who hold the same dignified situations in the present day.

Mr Grenville, under a manner rather austere and forbidding, covered a heart as feeling and tender as any man ever possessed. He liked office as well for its emoluments as its power; but in his attention to himself he never failed to pay regard to the situations and circumstances of his

friends, though to neither would he warp the public interest or service in the smallest degree; rigid in his opinions of public justice and integrity, and firm to inflexibility in the construction of his mind, he reprobated every suggestion of the political expediency of overlooking frauds or evasions in the payment or collection of the revenue, or of waste and extravagance in its expenditure. But although he would not bend any measure out of the strict line of rectitude to gain popularity, he was far from being indifferent to the good or ill opinion of the public; and that tediousness and repetition which his speeches in parliament, and his transactions with men of business were charged with, were occasioned by the earnestness of his desire to satisfy and convince those he addressed of the purity of his motives and the propriety of his conduct; and while there remained a single reason in his own mind, that he thought would serve those purposes, he could not be content to rest upon those he had already adduced, however convinced and satisfied his hearers appeared to be with them.

'Inheriting but a small patrimonial fortune, he had early accustomed himself to a strict appropriation of his income, and an exact economy in its expenditure, as the only sure ground on which to build a reputation for public and private integrity, and to support a dignified independency; and it was the unvaried practice of his life in all situations, as he has often told me, to live upon his own private fortune, and save the emoluments of whatever office he possessed; on which account he added; "The being in or out makes no difference in my establishment or manner of life. Every thing goes on at home in the same way. The only difference is, that my children's fortunes would be increased by my being in, beyond what they would be if I remained out, and that is being as little dependant upon office as any man who was not born to a great estate can possibly be;" and he manifested that independence at a time and in a manner

but little known, and as the relation can now do no harm, I shall repeat the account he gave me of it. He had accepted the seals of one of the secretaries of state in Lord Bute's administration, and by so doing drew upon himself the resentment and abuse of the then popular party, and of some of his own nearest relations; his return, therefore, to them, was rendered impracticable upon any occasion, and he had every motive to induce him to remain with his present connexion. Notwithstanding which, he very soon hazarded his continuance in office in support of his opinion, of what ought to be done for the advantage of the public, on the following occasion:

'While the peace was negotiating, the expedition against the Havannah was carrying on, and as the chance of its success or failure was not very unequal, the negotiators agreed to leave it out in their *uti possidetis*, considering the event as perfectly neutral: so that if after the preliminaries were signed, it was found to be taken, it was to be restored without compensation. Before the preliminaries were signed, however, the account of its capture was received, and Mr Grenville immediately proposed that it should now be included in the *uti possidetis*, and compensation for it insisted upon, for as the event was decided before the preliminaries were signed, either party was at liberty to avail themselves of it. Lord Bute thought the treaty was too far advanced to make any advantage of the event being in our favor, and he feared that our making any fresh demand, would not only protract but break off the negotiation, and prevent the peace taking place immediately, which he thought so necessary for the nation. Mr Grenville was clear in his opinion of our right to make the demand, and firm in insisting that it should be made, and proposed two alternatives for consideration. The one, that if we judged it best to get the entire possession of the continent of North America, France having already agreed to cede all

Canada, that we should insist upon Florida and Louisiana: the other, that if we thought it necessary to increase our possessions in the West Indies, beyond the three neutral islands, which France had also agreed to give us, we should ask Porto Rico, and the property of what we held upon the Spanish main; and he left the Earl with declaring that he would resign the seals, if one of those alternatives was not adopted and insisted upon. After consulting with Mr Fox and Lord Egremont, Lord Bute agreed to make the demand of Florida and Louisiana, and instructions to that purpose were immediately despatched to the Duke of Bedford, who made so able and strenuous an application in consequence of them, that the Duke de Choiseul not only consented to cede Louisiana, but obliged the Spanish minister to cede Florida also, without sending to his court for fresh orders, and the preliminaries were not delayed more than a fortnight by the demand and acquisition of that immense territory.'

Mr Grenville, shortly previous to his death, introduced the act for determining controverted elections, from a thorough conviction, as he declared to Mr Knox, 'that the ruin of public liberty must ensue, unless some check was given to the abominable prostitution of the House of Commons in elections, by voting in whoever has the support of the minister.' The good effects of this excellent act is on all sides the theme of praise so often as a controversy occasions the necessity for an appeal to its decision, the impartiality of which has hitherto never been disputed.

APPENDIX NO. IV.

The North Briton, No. 45.

The King's Speech has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as the speech of the Minister.

This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. I am in doubt, whether the imposition is greater on the Sovereign, or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a Prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable, public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honor, and unsullied virtue. I am sure, all foreigners, especially the King of Prussia, will hold the Minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our Sovereign declare, *My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure of the* definitive treaty. *The powers at war with my good brother, the King of Prussia, have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great Prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe.* The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind: For it is known, that the King of Prussia did not barely *approve*, but absolutely *dictated*, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous Prince from our negotiation, but he was basely deserted by the *Scottish* Prime Minister of

England. He was known by every Court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship *here*, than at *Vienna*; and he was betrayed by us in the *treaty of peace*. What a strain of Insolence, therefore, is it in a Minister to lay claim to what he is concious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest Princes the world has ever seen? The King of Prussia, however, has gloriously kept *all* his former conquests, and stipulated security for all his allies, even for the Elector of Hanover. I know in what light this great Prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, from some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the *Scot:* Expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of Englishmen through the southern part of this island.

The preliminary articles of peace were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the East India company would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the Ministry has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the Minister himself has made our Sovereign declare, *the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honorable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people.* As to the *entire approbation* of parliament, which he so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the *Civil List*, already half a year in arrear, shews pretty clearly the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable, that the Minister's speech dwells on the entire approbation given by parliament to the preliminary articles, which I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge and precision, by which such im-

mense advantages both of trade and territory, were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders are, indeed, in some measure set right by the *Definitive Treaty;* yet the most important articles, relative to *Cessions*, *Commerce*, and FISHERY, remain as they were, with respect to the *French.* The proud and feeble *Spaniard* too does not RENOUNCE, but only DESISTS *from all pretensions, which he may have formed, to the right of Fishing* — where? only *about the island of* NEWFOUNDLAND — till a favorable opportunity arises of *insisting* on it, *there, as well as elsewhere.*

The Minister cannot forbear, even in the *King's Speech*, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word *Economy.* I did not expect soon to have seen the word again, after it had been so exploded, and more than once, by a numerous audience, *hissed* off the stage of our English theatres. Let the public be informed of a single instance of *economy*, except indeed in the household? Is a regiment, which was completed as to its complement of officers on the Tuesday, and broke on the Thursday, a proof of *economy?* Is the pay of the *Scottish Master Elliot* to be voted by an *English* parliament under the head of *economy?* Is this, among a thousand others, one of the convincing proofs of a *firm resolution to form government on a plan of strict economy?* Is it not notorious, that in the reduction of the army, not the least attention has been paid to it? Many unnecessary expenses have been incurred, only to increase the power of the crown, that is, to create more lucrative jobs for the creatures of the minister. The *Staff* indeed is broke, but the discerning part of mankind immediately comprehended the mean subterfuge, and resented the indignity put upon so brave an officer, as Marshal Ligonier. The step was taken to give the whole power of the army to the crown, that is, to the minister. Lord Ligonier is now no longer at the head of the army; but Lord *Bute* in effect is; I mean that every preferment given by the crown will be found still to

be obtained by *his* enormous influence, and to be bestowed only on the creatures of the *Scottish* faction. The nation is still in the same deplorable state, while *he* governs, and can make the tools of his power pursue the same odious measures. Such a retreat, as he intends, can only mean that personal indemnity, which, I hope, guilt will never find from an injured nation. The negotiations of the late inglorious *Peace*, and the *Excise*, will haunt him wherever he goes; and the terrors of the just resentment which he must be in to meet from a brave and insulted people, and which must finally crush him, will be forever before his eyes.

In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in *the speech* that *spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order.* They have sent the *spirit of discord* through the land, and I will prophesy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the *Spirit of Concord* to go hand in hand with the PEACE and EXCISE through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent EXCISEMAN, and a *Peer, Gentleman, Freeholder*, or *Farmer*, whose private houses are now made liable to be entered and searched at pleasure? *Gloucestershire, Herefordshire*, and in general all the *Cider* counties, are not surely the *several counties* which are alluded to in the *speech.* The *spirit of concord* has not gone forth among them, but the *spirit of liberty* has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression.

A despotic minister will always endeavor to dazzle his Prince with high-flown ideas of *prerogative* and *honor* of the *crown*, which the minister will make a parade of *firmly maintaining.* I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see *the honor of the crown* maintained in a manner truly becoming *Royalty.* I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution. What a shame was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away,

contrary to the opinion of Royalty itself, and sacrificed to the prejudices and to the ignorance of a set of people, the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on a matter relating to the security of the *House of Hanover*? I wish to see *the honor of the crown* religiously asserted with regard to our allies, and the dignity of it scrupulously maintained with regard to foreign Princes. Is it possible such an indignity can have happened, such a sacrifice of *the crown of England*, as that a Minister should already have kissed his Majesty's hand on being appointed to the most insolent and ungrateful court in the world, without a previous assurance of that reciprocal nomination which the meanest court in Europe would insist upon, before she proceeded to an act otherwise so derogatory to her honor? But *Electoral Policy* has ever been obsequious to the court of *Vienna*, and forgets the insolence with which *Count Colloredo* left England. Upon a principle of *dignity* and *economy*, Lord *Stormont*, a *Scottish* Peer of the loyal house of *Murray*, kissed his Majesty's hand, I think, on Wednesday in the *Easter* week; but this ignominious act has not disgraced the nation in the *London Gazette*. The ministry are not ashamed of doing the thing in private; they are only afraid of the publication. Was it a tender regard for the *honor* of the late King, or of his present Majesty, that invited to court *Lord George Sackville*, *in these first days of peace;* to share in the general satisfaction, which all good courtiers received in the indignity offered to Lord *Ligonier*, and on the advancement of —— ? Was this to show *princely* gratitude to the eminent service of the accomplished General of the house of *Brunswick*, who has had so great a share in rescuing Europe from the yoke of France; and whose nephew we hope soon to see made happy in the possession of the most amiable Princess in the World? Or, is it meant to assert *the honor of the crown* only against the united wishes of a loyal and affectionate people, founded in a happy ex-

perience of the talents, ability, integrity, and virtue of those who have had the glory of redeeming their country from bondage and ruin, in order to support, by every art of corruption and intimidation, a weak, disjointed, incapable set of —— I will call them anything but Ministers — by whom the *Favorite* still meditates to rule this kingdom with a rod of Iron.

APPENDIX NO. V.

Dr Johnson's Critique on Junius.

It was against this letter,' [Junius's 42d Letter] says Dr Good, 'that Dr Johnson was engaged by the ministry to muster the whole of his political and argumentative powers. His answer, published in 1771, is entitled, "Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands;" from which the following is worth transcribing:

'To considerations such as these, it is reasonable to impute that anxiety of the Spaniards, from which the importance of this island is inferred by Junius, one of the few writers of his despicable faction whose name does not disgrace the page of an opponent. The value of the thing disputed may be very different to him that gains and him that loses it. The Spaniards, by yielding Falkland's Island, have admitted a precedent of what they think encroachment, have suffered a breach to be made in the outworks of their empire, and, notwithstanding the reserve of prior right, have suffered a dangerous exception to the prescriptive tenure of their American territories.

'An unsuccessful war would undoubtedly have had the effect which the enemies of the ministry so earnestly desire; for who could have sustained the disgrace of folly ending

which, after having plunged its followers in a bog, will leave in misfortune? but had wanton invasion undeservedly prospered, had Falkland's Island been yielded unconditionally with every right prior and posterior, though the rabble might have shouted, and the windows have blazed, yet those who know the value of life, and the uncertainty of public credit, would have murmured, perhaps unheard, at the increase of our debt, and the loss of our people.

'This thirst of blood, however the visible promoters of sedition may think it convenient to shrink from the accusation, is loudly avowed by Junius, the writer to whom his party owes much of its pride, and some of its popularity: Of Junius it cannot be said, as of Ulysses, that he scatters ambiguous expressions among the vulgar; for he cries *havock* without reserve, and endeavors to let slip the dogs of foreign and of civil war, ignorant whither they are going, and careless what may be their prey. Junius has sometimes made his satire felt, but let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigor of the bow. He has sometimes sported with lucky malice; but to him that knows his company, it is not hard to be sarcastic in a mask. While he walks like Jack the Giant Killer in a coat of darkness, he may do much mischief with little strength. Novelty captivates the superficial and thoughtless; vehemence delights the discontented and turbulent. He that contradicts acknowledged truth will always have an audience; he that vilifies established authority will always find abettors.

'Junius burst into notice with a blaze of impudence which has rarely glared upon the world before, and drew the rabble after him as a monster makes a show. When he had once provided for his safety by impenetrable secrecy, he had nothing to combat but truth and justice, enemies whom he knows to be feeble in the dark. Being then at liberty to indulge himself in all the immunities of invisibility; out of the reach of danger, he has been bold; out of the reach

of shame, he has been confident. As a rhetorician, he has the art of persuading when he seconded desire; as a reasoner, he has convinced those who had no doubt before; as a moralist, he has taught that virtue may disgrace; and as a patriot, he has gratified the mean by insults on the high. Finding sedition ascendant, he has been able to advance it; finding the nation combustible, he has been able to inflame it. Let us abstract from his wit the vivacity of insolence, and withdraw from his efficacy the sympathetic favor of plebeian malignity; I do not say that we shall leave him nothing; the cause that I defend scorns the help of falsehood; but if we leave him only his merit, what will be his praise?

'It is not by his liveliness of imagery, his pungency of periods, or his fertility of allusion, that he detains the cits of London and the boors of Middlesex. Of style and sentiment they take no cognizance. They admire him for virtues like their own, for contempt of order and violence of outrage, for rage of defamation and audacity of falsehood. The supporters of the Bill of Rights feel no niceties of composition, nor dexterities of sophistry; their faculties are better proportioned to the bawl of Bellas or barbarity of Beckford; but they are told that Junius is on their side, and they are therefore sure that Junius is infallible. Those who know not whither he would lead them, resolve to follow him; and those who cannot find his meaning, hope he means rebellion.

'Junius is an unusual phenomenon, on which some have gazed with wonder, and some with terror, but wonder and terror are transitory passions. He will soon be more closely viewed, or more attentively examined, and what folly has taken for a comet that, from its flaming hair, shook pestilence and war, inquiry will find to be only a meteor formed by the vapours of putrefying democracy, and kindled into flame by the effervescence of interest struggling with conviction, us inquiring why we regarded it.

'Yet though I cannot think the style of Junius secure from criticism, though his expressions are often trite, and his periods feeble, I should never have stationed him where he has placed himself, had I not rated him by his morals rather than his faculties. "What," says Pope, "must be the priest, where the monkey is a god?" What must be the drudge of a party of which the heads are Wilkes and Crosby Sawbridge and Townshend?

'Junius knows his own meaning, and can therefore tell it. He is an enemy to the ministry, he sees them hourly growing stronger. He knows that a war at once unjust and unsuccessful would have certainly displaced them, and is therefore, in his zeal for his country, angry that war was not unjustly made, and unsuccessfully conducted; but there are others whose thoughts are less clearly expressed, and whose schemes perhaps are less consequentially digested, who declare that they do not wish for a rupture, yet condemn the ministry for not doing that from which a rupture would naturally have followed.'

'Of this pamphlet,' continues Dr Good, 'the ministry were not a little proud; and especially as they made no doubt that Junius would hereby be drawn into a paper contest with Johnson, and that hence they would possess a greater facility of detecting him. Junius seems to have been aware of the trap laid for him, and made no direct reply whatever. How far the Doctor was correct in asking the question, what must be the drudge of a party of which the heads are Wilkes and Crosby, Sawbridge and Townshend? may be seen by referring to the protest entered on the Lord's journals against the address voted in consequence of the communications made to both houses of parliament on the conclusion of the Spanish convention, which adopts most of the sentiments here so ably expressed, and which will be found in a note to Miscellaneous Letter, No. LXXXVIII. Vol. III. p. 330.'

APPENDIX NO. VI.

The arrangement of the Ministry, 1767 to 1770.

Duke of Grafton, First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Camden, Lord Chancellor.
Lord Viscount Townsend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Earl Rochford, Minister for the Foreign Department.
Viscount Weymouth (afterwards Marquis of Bath), Minister for the Home Department.
Earl of Hillsborough (since Marquis of Downshire), American Minister.
Earl Gower, Lord President of the Council.
Earl Bristol, Lord Privy Seal.
Sir Edward Hawke, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Viscount Barrington, Secretary at War.
Marquis of Granby, Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Howe, Treasurer of the Navy.
Mr De Grey, and Mr Dunning (afterwards Lord Walsingham, and Lord Ashburton), Attorney and Solicitor General.

ERRATA.

Page 200, 3d line from top, for 1763, read 1768.
" 226, 4th line " " for were *directed*, read were *dedicated*.

THE END.

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